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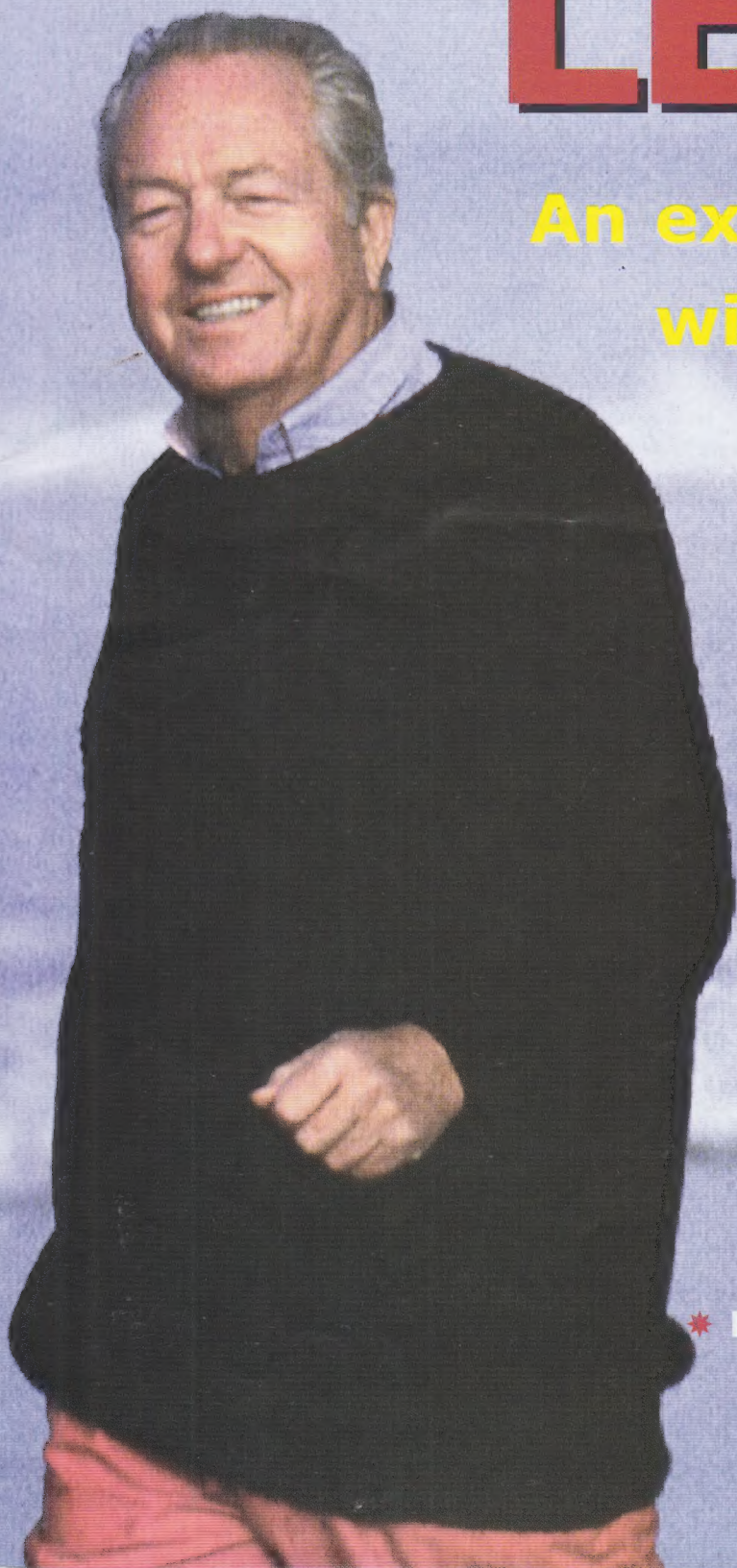
LE PEN

An exclusive interview
with Europe's most
outspoken
politician

Plus:

**Why branding
means blandness**

- * Tory attitudes
- * Robert Henderson on citizenship
- * Vivian Linacre takes
the measure of the EU
- * Taki



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Rational national interest

Now that the Iraq war is over, the difficult part begins – to create in this notoriously volatile part of the world a state that will not periodically attack its neighbours, that is not some kind of dictatorship and – above all – that will not provide favourable conditions for the growth of that fanatical Islamism that is the enemy of all sane human beings. Achieving social peace is likely to be problematic. Yet if stability is not quickly achieved, it may well be that a domestic version of Osama bin Laden may arise, to pose a far greater threat to the West than Saddam Hussein ever did.

It is probably too much to hope that the victorious powers and the United Nations will realise that Iraq does not need to be held together as one country, but could easily be split into federated statelets or even several independent states. Instead, Western politicians, drunk on feel-good internationalism, will insist on retaining the country's present borders, using UN troops and various bribes to enforce a more subtle kind of authoritarian rule – all courtesy of Western taxpayers. One hopes that the locals will eventually get a real say in the matter. After decades of dictatorship, they deserve a chance to taste freedom – not that British troops should necessarily have died to give them that freedom (as Enoch Powell said at the time of the first Gulf War "Saddam Hussein may not be nice and his form of government not to our taste. That is no business of ours – nor of the United States").

From the British point of view, the most difficult part is where British foreign policy goes from here. It is clear that the United States, under the influence of President Bush's crusading religious vision – admixed with more practical considerations – has opted to become a global policeman (ironically at a time when the United States is imploding). It is obvious that Mr Blair shares Bush's ideological zeal, to the extent that this arch-populist and instinctive pacifist risked public disfavour, and was even ready to resign, if he were balked of his bellikose purpose.

Is Britain to join with the Americans in any or every future adventure, invading countries of which it disapproves, or even strike out on her own military adventures? If so, then we will all need to be given better reasons than we were given prior to the invasion of Iraq. After decades of cultural vandalism, many Britons are

no longer instinctively patriotic – as Burke said, "To love your country, your country must be beautiful" – and future prime ministers will find it ever more difficult to persuade public opinion of the necessity for war. Even the small-c conservative segment of the population – normally so reliably patriotic – was strongly divided about Iraq, with honourable people on both sides of the question.

The reasons given by many for Anglo-American co-operation are not entirely compelling. Sharing a language is not reason enough to be allied with the Americans; after all, Britain and Ireland share a language. Britain and the US being both predominantly 'Anglo-Saxon' nations (the secretly racial reason adduced by many conservatives) is not reason enough either, especially as successive governments in both countries seem uninterested in preserving this traditional national character.

While there are cultural similarities between the US and UK, there are also major differences. Wishing to irritate the EU is a better reason, but spite is not reason enough to blindly follow the American lead; at some level, preferably from outside the EU, we need to be on friendly terms with our European neighbours. The pronouncements of a country whose revered Declaration of Independence – drafted by slave-owners – contains the words "all men are created equal" should not necessarily be trusted implicitly!

Britain should steer a middle course between the unthinking pro-Americanism of some on the Right, and the unthinking anti-Americanism of some on the Left. Often, America is right, and when it is we should help, but sometimes America is wrong, and then we should keep out of its way. It often seems the chief reason for Anglo-British co-operation in recent decades has been the personal congeniality between successive leaders. Thatcher and Reagan were united by their anti-communism. Now Blair and Bush are united by a vague, complacent ideology of global betterment which unfortunately tends to be combined with a lack of interest in what is going on in one's own country.

Foreign policy needs to be based on something more tangible. Although there will always be a role for idealism – and there is a little Mrs Jellyby inside every Anglo-Saxon – foreign policy should be governed above all by calculated national interest. ○

A message to 'moderate' Conservatives (yes, you!)

Roy Painter says – you have nothing to lose but your country!

Yes, that's what is at stake unless you – yes, those of you who hide behind the mask of 'moderation' – stand up and be counted. Stop placating your consciences by labelling those that do stand up and tell the truth as 'extremists'. We all know who we are talking about, don't we – those with furtive eyes, who, after one is proved correct on important issues such as immigration or entry into Europe, snidely appear at one's side, whispering the usual hackneyed phrases behind the back of their hands – "I totally agree with you old chap, but... (embarrassed cough behind the up-raised hand over the mouth) ...can't be seen to be extreme, can we?"

My reply is always the same – 'moderates' are those who lack the courage to speak the truth, those who want things done but who will not soil their own hands or consciences, to do them.

Due to this ever-increasing malaise of moral cowardice, our country is now on its last legs. We know who's to blame. Socialists and Liberal Democrats, yes – but then they make no secret of their desire for a multicultural society, and total integration with Europe, so at least we know where these misguided enemies stand.

In my opinion, our rapid demise is aided and abetted by the very worst type of politician – the weak, lily-livered Conservative career politicians, who place their own wellbeing before their duty to Conservative voters and national survival. Every speech they make is with well-chosen words in case they upset the politically-correct lobby or, worse still, Conservative Central Office. These MPs go home feeling full of righteous well-being, thinking they are the moral conscience of the nation, whereas in reality, all they are doing is leaving the realists to pick up the pieces at some future date.

I also include in this the now totally ineffectual Monday Club, who are more concerned with who is going to be party leader than with Britain's future. They used to be a powerful influence on Conservative thinking, and still could be, if they showed one iota of common sense and stopped using it as a private club. Since the demise of George Young, and MPs such as Enoch Powell, Sir Ronald Bell and others who gave support to the Monday Club, the Conservative Party has had no effective Rightwing voice.

We also have those big fish in little Conservative ponds, the local association careerists who, along with their committee careerists, fight amongst themselves and try to out-toady each other in order to sit at the top table with any visiting MP. Uriah Heep could take lessons from these people in being "ever so 'umble".

If a guest speaker from the Tory hierarchy suggested that all top positions in local associations should go to gay female immigrant social workers, they would all stand and applaud, such is their desire to be seen as good Tories. Ridicule this if you like, but look how far we have moved since 1970. Add to this brew Central Office's penchant for employing policy advisers straight from university, the majority of whom are, by inclination and university influence, natural liberal thinkers. These mis-

guided people always excuse their actions on the pretext that 'these are the policies that will make us electable, and once elected we will then install true conservatism' – but of course they never do. The heady seduction of government office is always more powerful than honestly serving the electorate. It seems that staying in office is paramount, whatever the cost to truth or one's country.

I still cannot stop being amazed at my party's stupidity at trying to be better socialists than the Labour Party. Have they forgotten that the most successful Tory politician of the 20th Century, Margaret Thatcher, won three elections by being uncompromisingly English and conservative? She did not always get it right, but the one thing she did continually get right was that she was in tune with public opinion, despite what the wimps in CCO were saying.

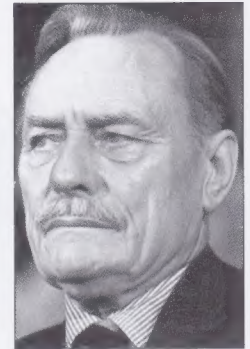
I appreciate that government is not always easy. Sometimes, unpopular and painful policies have to be instituted. Unfortunately, too many Conservative politicians, against the wishes of the party faithful, undertake policies in order to please voracious vocal minorities. They forget that in their desire to be seen by the media as Mr Nice Guy, they are assisting in the demise of the very section of society that put them where they are. I am of course talking about the citizens who suffered the Depression and the War, who fought to achieve the standards we now enjoy. But of course they don't matter, they're only English.

Unfortunately all of the factions I have mentioned appear unable to grasp that this cowardly brand of politics is not only self-defeating, but is, to a very great extent, responsible for the current situation of our once wonderful country.

During my 35 years in politics I have always steadfastly maintained that only when it was unavoidably obvious that the very fabric of our society was threatened would the populace wake up. Well, that moment is upon us. Our infrastructure is collapsing. Police, hospitals and schools are no longer able to cope. Crime is out of control, and our education system is almost irreparable.

Fortunately, these evils are now personally affecting the trendy Islingtonians, the woolly Conservatives, and Liberal Democrats who have run out of excuses now they are also the victims of violent street crime.

Future generations will gasp in astonishment at our inability to speak out, through fear of offending those minority groups (rapidly becoming the majority) whose interests are at odds with Britain's well-being. However, I am unwaveringly convinced that there is still a chance to save this once-great nation. To achieve this, not only do ordinary people need to stand up and be counted, but we need people of influence to say what has to be said. It is the Lady Thatchers and Norman Tebbits who we need to break open the Tory Party, by threatening to break from it. Just one hint that they *might* would galvanise the very large silent majority to articulate their views for a *real* Conservative Party. Come on, Lady T, Lord Tebbit and all the others – what have you got to lose? ○



Enoch Powell

"Since the demise of George Young, and MPs such as Enoch Powell, Sir Ronald Bell and others who gave support to the Monday Club, the Conservative Party has had no effective Rightwing voice"

Roy Painter is a member of the Conservative Party in north London

French lessons

Derek Turner meets Jean-Marie Le Pen of the French Front National

Why are you visiting England?

I was invited by the Cambridge Union to participate in a debate on the subject of freedom of expression. The motion was "This House would gag the bad". I was asked to give a 20-minute exposition against the motion, which was translated into English in front of an audience of students. The speech became a full-length debate, which was very courteous, but also lively and amusing. But there was a Leftwing demonstration outside, and the windscreen of my car was smashed – therefore showing what they thought of the motion! After the speeches, there was a vote, and you will be pleased to learn that there was an overwhelming vote in support of freedom – 153 for freedom of speech and 11 against.

That same evening, in a discussion about my visit, there was a Labour MP on television who said that she was in favour of free speech, but only within certain limits. But of course the question is always – *what* limits?



Jean-Marie Le Pen with *Right Now!* editor, Derek Turner

The attitude of Chirac's government towards the war in Iraq was very controversial here in the UK. What was the FN's position on the war?

This was probably the first time that the FN had ever agreed with Chirac! We were totally opposed to the war. We have always been opposed to outside interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nations. Not all the bad was on the side of the Iraqis, and so this problem should have been dealt with by the United Nations, within Iraq itself.

Before the first Gulf War, I didn't know a single person in Iraq, but I have always been against any military intervention there. I have always been against the senseless and bloody Anglo-American bombing campaigns. Since sanctions were imposed against Iraq, one million children have died. The superpowers have long campaigned to disarm Iraq, and now they have moved in to take over the country. It is obviously much easier for the US to intervene in Panama or Iraq, than to take on Russia or China; America prefers to attack weak dictatorships!

From our point of view, Mr Blair's actions in supporting the Americans have had one beneficial result – they have undermined the whole concept of the European Union.

In the presidential election of 2002, you obtained 17.79% of the vote, yet in the parliamentary elections in June the FN's vote dropped to 11.12%.

Why? A recent poll in *Le Figaro* showed that the party has 11% support. Is this an accurate figure?

My personal vote, as the best-known face of the FN, has always been higher than the party's vote. But there is always a lower turnout for parliamentary elections than presidential elections; often, as much as 45% of people don't bother to vote. There is a great deal of public apathy. As for polls generally, one poll will show 11%, another 20% – but often they underestimate the party's support.

In the particular case of the presidential elections, of course there were only two candidates to vote for. Of course, it wasn't just two equal candidates – but me against everybody else, the whole united establishment. The Catholic church, the trade unions, the Parisian legal profession and *everybody* else – all were combined in a successful attempt to keep things just as they are.

For the establishment, major social problems like immigration are not too bad – and of course, they always have an exit route. They can always go to England – although England is now full up too! – or somewhere else. These people live in comfortable circumstances in nice suburbs, where there are lots of police, so they are not really concerned about crime either.

The organised processions of schoolchildren calling for my death(!) were infamous, and reminded me very much of Soviet propaganda. In every newspaper, not just the editors, but also the owners and publishers, issued appeals to people to march in the streets against me. Even I was amazed! Jacques Chirac refused to appear in a debate with me on television, in clear breach of media proportionality guidelines. In fact, when you take into account our limited access to the media, we did extremely well. I believe that if we had never had the split with Megret¹ it would have been Chirac who would have been defeated in the first round – and then we could have had a real debate between the socialist Left, represented by Lionel Jospin, and the nationalist Right – two real alternatives. With Chirac, it's a mixed bag, with important issues being kicked into touch all the time.

There is a great mystery at the heart of French politics. The reasons for the exclusion of the FN have never actually been explained. There is a kind of presumption that we don't belong to the human species! If I were a murderer, I would have the right to be heard in front of the people, the right to defend myself in court, and I would have advocates. But we are 'bad', and don't know why! What is held against me is often not what I've said, but what I haven't said.

We suffer greatly from the media in France. If we had equal means, we would definitely prevail. In 2000, we had TV viewing time of 0.14%, which is 100 times less than we should have received. In 2002, we had 0.23%.

There has been speculation recently that the FN is seeking to 'soften' its image, especially in relation to the Euro and the European Union. Yet, Jean-Claude Martinez² has also said that EU enlargement should not take place. What exactly is the FN's present position on the Euro, and the European Union?

To lead any national political movement, you must have national freedom of operation, and we have all lost too much power to Brussels. So our present policy is for the renegotiation of the European treaties. I have always said that we should just get out, and that commitment hasn't changed, but you never shoot at an ambulance!

Is the EURONAT organisation still in existence?³

We wanted to set up an organisation within which historical enemies could meet and discuss matters of common concern. We feel we have a duty to encourage the expression of patriotic sentiments within all European nations. Doing nothing kills you! But running an organisation like this requires a lot of resources. At our 30th anniversary congress, held in Nice earlier this year, there were 22 foreign delegations, and four or five observer delegations, from parties like the Flemish Vlaams Blok, the German DVU, Poland's Alternative Polonais, the Swiss People's Party of Christoph Blocher, Greece's Hellenic Front, and many other parties, some of them with parliamentary representation – which we don't have at the moment!

With the united UMP⁴ riding high in the polls what are the chances of your becoming President of the Provence-Alpes Cote d'Azur (PACA) region in the 2004 regional elections?

In PACA, we have a very strong foothold. The UMP came third last time, only scoring enough votes to make a present of the region to the Left. This happened in many other regions too. The UMP wanted us to support them for this reason!

You have decided to launch an FN 'shadow cabinet' – an idea originally mooted several years ago, and then dropped. Why have you decided to revive the idea?

The idea was dropped after we had the split with Megret, and because Mr Martinez had been ill for a long time. It was relaunched on the 21st of April last year to give us all a new perspective, and to represent a kind of mirror-image French government-in-waiting, a government that is ready to take over at any time. In the past, we didn't have that. This structure also allows us to have concrete policies on every issue, and gives a clear chain of command. You can only have one captain on a ship! Megret was an excellent man in the engine-room, but he wanted to wear the white cap. As you can see, I am soft with my friends and hard with my enemies, as Pompey had inscribed on his tomb!

This may be a little controversial, but there has been a lot of speculation about the possibility of M Gollnisch taking over from you as president of the party, and suggestions that your daughter Marine is being 'groomed' as your successor against the wishes of many party workers.

I originally suggested the first idea several years ago – in order to kill any speculation about M Gollnisch and M Megret – but that doesn't stop the gossiping. It is not me who is pushing Marine; I have neither promoted nor restrained her. But the press are inevitably interested in a family member, an official who is efficient, committed and has a lot of determi-

nation – assisted by the fact that around each personality there develops a small court of gossips, like that around a prince, all of whom are trying to promote their favourite. FN people are just like everyone else!

Just like the Conservative Party – or a golf club! One final question – what have been the chief personal and political influences on your career?

Many things! I was born in between the two wars. My father was killed by a mine in 1942, and I was in a sense brought up by the state, as was the custom of the time. This taught me that, like all citizens, I had duties towards the state and it had responsibilities towards me. I was a student, and leader of a student movement composed of Left- and Rightwing students. I got much early experience of debating. I sampled life as an artisan. I was a foreign legionary who fought in Indochina, and became a parliamentary deputy at an early age. When the French government sent troops into Algeria, I resigned my parliamentary seat and went with them to show my support for French Algeria.

In 1973, we created the FN. At that time, there was a large segment of the bourgeois population that believed things were so bad that the army would have to move in, but I knew that democratic politics was the only way to proceed. As Churchill said, "Democracy isn't really that good, but there isn't anything else"!

We are now trying to prevail, but they all say it is impossible. In our first elections, in 1974, we received 0.74% of the vote; ten years later, in 1984, we started to get members of parliament. Now we are the third party in France, but we are blocked by an agreement between the mainstream Left and the Right, which are basically the same, and jostle for the same small political space. With us in power, it would be different, because we would leave some room for the Left, who are our brothers! ○

Notes

1. In 1999, Bruno Megret, then a senior figure in the FN, broke away to start the Mouvement National Republique, precipitating a decline in FN support, from which it has only recently recovered. The MNR fared poorly at the polls, and has now been wound up
2. An FN MEP
3. EURONAT, standing for Alliance of European Nationalists, was set up by the FN to promote co-operation amongst Europeans who wished to co-operate against common problems, such as globalism, the European Union and immigration
4. Chirac's ruling party, formed by the amalgamation of several smaller Gaullist and conservative parties
5. Marine Le Pen is one of five vice-presidents of the party, which entitles her to be a member of the FN's Executive Bureau, and she also holds a post on the party's Political Committee.

Jean-Marie Le Pen and the Front National

Born 1929 in La Trinité-sur-Mer in Brittany, the son of a sailor. Married, three daughters

Studied law. Whilst at college, led a group of French students to the Netherlands in the wake of the disastrous 1953 floods to assist in clearing-up operations, and became active in student politics. Joined the Foreign Legion in 1954, and fought with distinction in Indochina and Algeria. Became a Poujadiste parliamentary deputy in 1956, and was (at age 27) the youngest deputy in the French parliament. In 1965, ran the presidential election campaign of the Rightwing challenger Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancourt.

Founded the Front National in 1973. In 1983, the FN made its first breakthrough in the Paris suburb of Dreux. In 1986, after parliamentary reforms under the Mitterand government, the party won 38 seats in parliament. Following further reforms under Jacques Chirac, the party was reduced to one seat again, and now has none, but has five MEPs, including M. Le Pen. In a startling development in the presidential elections of 2002, M Le Pen knocked Lionel Jospin, the Socialist candidate, out of the running, making it a straight fight between Le Pen and his old enemy, Jacques Chirac.

Despite a massive and vitriolic campaign from the Chirac side, M Le Pen scored 17.79% of the vote against all the odds. The next campaigns will be for the regional elections in 2004, during which the party hopes to do especially well in the PACA region, where it has strong roots and a good administrative track record, and then the presidential elections in 2007. ○

The Tories and public opinion

In the first of two articles, David Worsley tries to find if traditional Toryism is really out of step with modern Britain



Theresa May thinks that conservatives are 'nasty' – and she chairs the Conservative (sic) Party...

The current domination of the news headlines by the conflict with Iraq has allowed the ongoing crisis within the Conservative Party to temporarily escape the spotlight. However, the 'modernising' faction will doubtless unsheathe their daggers again in the summer, as the loyalty of most Tory MPs to the party line on gay and unmarried adoption, and Oliver Letwin's attempts to engage with the asylum issue and its connection to terrorism, will signify to the Portillistas that the 'nasty party' continues to be in need of cleansing. Theresa May's assault upon her audience in Bournemouth was merely the climax of a year or so of self-loathing, typified by Steven Norris' characterisation of the Tories as "xenophobic, homophobic, vaguely racist, always angry, always disagreeable, always finding someone to fight and all too often downright unpleasant" – a description that drew cheers from his audience at the Tory Reform Group.¹

Allegations such as these are the modernisers' emotionally-charged way of arguing that the Conservative Party should drop any hints of real conservatism with regard to the issues of European federalism, mass immigration and the defence of marriage and traditional morality. However, every moderniser admits that there are many in the party

who care far more about these issues than topics such as taxation or public service reform, and this knowledge has underpinned the Tory Left's desire to expel or marginalise traditionalists such as Norman Tebbit. They portray the Right as a minority who can be somehow driven out, thus re-establishing the Conservatives as a party 'in touch with modern Britain', and clearing the path back to power.

So are the modernisers right to allege that many ordinary Tories are unyieldingly politically incorrect? The last major survey of the opinions of grassroots Tories was conducted about a decade ago by three academics from Sheffield and Warwick Universities, so their results might be slightly outdated. However, they found that party members overwhelmingly held some views that the Tory Left now describe as abhorrent. Table One shows the eight issues on which the representative sample of 3,066 Tories surveyed held the strongest opinions, along with their views on some other key issues.

It can be seen that the control of immigration and the reintroduction of capital punishment were at the top of their agenda, and in particular that 70% of those surveyed supported the voluntary repatriation of immigrants – the policy for which the Monday Club was later excoriated. They were also noticeably uncomfortable with high divorce rates, one of the features of contemporary society that the modernisers wish them to accept. On the other hand, it can be seen that grassroots Tories did not hold particularly strong views on essentially economic matters. They were evenly divided over the "marketisation" of the state education system, did not violently object to the redistribution of wealth and income, and were mildly sceptical regarding the benefits of unfettered capitalism. It thus seems that the Tory membership is principally concerned with moral and cultural issues, and the defence of national identity and sovereignty, rather than a dogmatic defence of Thatcherite economics.

The 'modernisers' are therefore right to fear that the average grassroots Tory does not share their philosophy of economic and social liberalism. However, are they justified in asserting that the Conservative membership are totally at odds with wider public opinion on issues such as Europe, immigration, and traditional morality? It is here that the modernist hypothesis breaks down, as opinion poll surveys and social research from numerous sources demonstrates the persistence of conservative and nationalist views, despite the efforts of Leftist broadcasters and educators to remould attitudes.

Even supporters of the Euro admit that polls have persistently shown a majority opposed to British membership. In December 2001 the *Guardian* reported a rise in the number favouring joining to 31% as a major triumph, and hoped that the widespread belief that British membership was inevitable would wear down the will to resist of the 58% who opposed the single currency.² However, these figures were not significantly different from the results of a wide-ranging survey by MORI four

Table One: Responses of Conservative Party members to various statements (%)

	Statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	Restrictions on immigration into Britain are too loose and should be tightened	54	37	5	3	1
2	The death penalty should be reintroduced for murder	36	33	7	17	7
3	High income tax makes people less willing to work hard	33	49	6	11	2
4	A future Conservative government should encourage repatriation of immigrants	32	38	12	15	4
5	It is best to leave government to people from the upper class	3	7	11	50	29
6	The right to strike should not exist for public sector workers	28	41	7	20	4
7	Coalition governments are the best form of government for Britain	2	8	10	53	27
8	A future Conservative government should not agree to a single European currency	25	33	12	24	6
	The Conservative government should introduce a system of educational vouchers in the state school system	8	29	31	27	6
	Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary working people	5	21	20	42	12
	The consumer needs much stronger protection from the effects of the free market	13	43	18	22	3
	Divorce has become too easy these days, and the divorce laws should be tightened up	18	42	13	23	4

Source: Paul Whiteley, Patrick Seyd, & Jeremy Richardson, *True Blues: The Politics of Conservative Party Membership*, Oxford: OUP, 1994, pps243-280

years earlier, which found the electorate to be opposed by 51% to 25% against Britain's membership of the Euro, and by 52% to 16% against the creation of a federal Europe.³

The extent to which the general public approve of the transformation of British society through the mass immigration that has already occurred is more difficult to ascertain. A Gallup poll in May 2001 found that 55% of Britons both accepted that Britain was a multicultural society and believed that this was a "good thing", whereas 25% of respondents did not believe Britain to be multicultural, and a further 15% did agree with the description but thought that this was a "bad thing". On the other hand, a BBC poll in May 2002 found that only 28% of whites thought that immigration had benefited Britain over the last 50 years, whereas 47% of whites believed that it has damaged society – an opinion in which they were joined by 22% of blacks and Asians!⁵ The difference between these two results might be explained by sampling errors, and the fact that the Oldham and Bradford riots, not to mention September the 11th, had occurred between the two polls. However, the results could be reconciled by assuming that a large section of the electorate took the entirely sensible (and conservative) view that it is good that immigrants retain their cultural distinctiveness in Britain, but not so good that so many came in the first place. This is consonant with the repeated finding that a clear majority wish to reduce future immigration to Britain. The May 2001 Gallup survey found that 66% of respondents believed that there was too much immigration into Britain, whilst only 3% supported the government's view that there was too little. Furthermore, 29% of voters expressed sympathy for John Townend's views, despite his demonisation and misrepresentation by the media. The same survey found that the electorate was evenly split regarding the issue of whether different ethnic groups will live peacefully in tomorrow's Britain, with 49% expecting tensions and 48% believing that harmony will prevail eventually. Interestingly, 40% of those who expected racial harmony believed that nevertheless different groups would live separately.⁶ Meanwhile, a poll by the Commission for Racial Equality in 2002 found that 64% of all Britons, including 46% of ethnic minorities, wished to reduce further immigration.⁷

With regard to family and sexual issues, there remains a clear but diminishing 'moral majority' in Britain, opposed to the more radical manifestations of the sexual revolution. At the end of 2001, the *Guardian* reported that, according to the 18th British Social Attitudes Survey, a majority of Britons believe that it is wrong to start a family outside of marriage, though they were able gleefully to observe that this proportion was down from three-



Steven Norris attempts to describe the size of his liberal social conscience...

quarters in 1989. The same research showed that only 9% of British adults dismiss marriage as "just a piece of paper", whilst about six out of ten believe that marriage is still the best kind of relationship. This probably explains the fact that the overwhelming majority of cohabitantes either marry or break up within ten years⁸. Meanwhile, even Tory modernisers admit that there remains broad public backing for Section 28, and majority opposition to adoption by gay couples⁹. This is despite the fact that Section 28 has been portrayed by the media as some sort of heinous stigmatisation of homosexuals, rather than as a measure designed to prevent taxpayers' money being spent on publications such as *Jenny Lives with Eric and Martin* by the far-Left incumbents of local education authorities. Meanwhile, the ambivalence with which wider society views homosexuality was recently revealed by the *Observer's* 2002 sex survey, which suggested that a shocking 23% of Britons take the extreme position that gay sex should be criminalised. The same survey found that 74% believed monogamy to be natural, and 83% thought it was desirable¹⁰.

The continued conservatism of the British public on issues relating to national identity and traditional morality thus suggests that the Tories were trounced in the 2001 general election because other issues were uppermost in the minds of the electorate, and the Gallup poll already cited seems to support this view. Voters were asked which party they trusted to deal best with various issues, and the respondents' answers, shown in Table Two, indicated that far from being their weak point, the Tories generated the most resonance with their stances on law and order, Europe, immigration and asylum. However, Labour enjoyed enormous approval for its Third Way approach to the policy areas of health, education and taxation. This analysis, combined with the attitude surveys discussed above, suggest that the 'dream ticket' in British politics would be a party which combined a centrist approach to the economy, welfare and public services, combined with a Right-leaning agenda on national identity and morality. Perceptive readers will note that this is precisely the outlook of the much-berated grassroots Tory! Indeed, Labour Party strategists recently presented the Prime Minister with a report suggesting that a significant threat to the Third Way comes from this populist direction¹¹. So the question arises, is there any sense in the Tory modernisers' proposal to seek power by adopting the minority opinion on Europe, immigration, and traditional morality? The answer is, surprisingly, yes – but the reasons for this and their implications for British politics will have to form the subject of another article. ○

NOTES

1. Melissa Kite, "Norris May Quit unless 'Racist' Party Changes", *Times*, 11 Oct 2001
2. Alan Travis, "Majority Now Believes UK Will Join Euro", *Guardian*, 18 Dec 2001, quoting an ICM poll
3. John Blundell & Brian Gosschalk, *Beyond Left and Right*, London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1997
4. Anthony King, "Voters Support Hague's Stand on Immigration and Asylum Seekers", *Daily Telegraph*, 12 May 2001
5. Anthony Browne, *Do We Need Mass Immigration?* London: Civitas, 2002, p119
6. King, *op cit*
7. Browne, *op cit*
8. John Carvel, "Big Rise in Support for Unmarried Parents", *Guardian*, 26 Nov 2001
9. Andrew Cooper, "A Party in a Foreign Land", in Edward Vaizey et al, *A Blue Tomorrow*, London: Politico's, 2001, pps18-19
10. "How Do You Measure Up?", *Observer*, 27 Oct 2002
11. "Power Vacuum 'Could See Rise of Far Right'", *Times*, 7 Nov 2002

Table Two: Voters' beliefs regarding which party could handle issues best (%)

Issue	Labour	Tories
National Health Service	57	26
Education	54	30
Taxation	48	35
Law and order	46	41
Europe	44	41
Immigration	38	43
Asylum seekers	36	43

Source: *Daily Telegraph*, 12 May 2001

David Worsley is a freelance writer

Citizenship and the nation state in the age of globalism

Robert Henderson says that patriotism and tribalism are inseparable

A list of the traditional attributes for the good citizen can be compiled without much trouble: respect for the law and the country's customs, respect for others, good manners, hard work, charitable impulses and a willingness to take on the duties which a society imposes, such as fighting for the country.

How many of these attributes are expected of the citizen by the modern British state? As things stand, precious few is the answer. British citizenship can be applied for after five years residence in Britain. Applications are normally granted. Successful applicants do not in practice have to speak or read English fluently or know anything of Britain's history and culture. They may be actively hostile to British society, as in the case of the inflammatory Muslim cleric Abu Hamza, or espouse a separatist mentality such as that exemplified by the Muslim 'Parliament', and still gain citizenship.

After taking British citizenship, they can retain their original citizenship – if their country of origin permits it – and take out citizenship of yet another country without losing their British citizenship.

Rarely can formal and legal membership of a society have been more casually granted or become a matter of mere convenience, of administrative form. It is barely more onerous than the taking out of membership to a golf club.

none of which has any formal status based in law or on statehood. Yet these identities are stronger than that of Britishness. Nationality is more than citizenship.

The uncommitted citizenry

The facile granting of citizenship is only a relatively small part of a larger and ever-growing phenomenon, the existence in Britain of large numbers of people without a natural loyalty to the country or an affinity with its culture and people. Britain now has several millions of those born into British citizenship who are potentially out of sympathy with their place of birth, a fact most recently exemplified by the race-riots in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in 2001, which were initiated and conducted primarily by Asians born and bred in Britain.

In addition to large unassimilated minority groups, there is the problem of the modern version of the International Class (IC). These are people who fall into two segments. The smaller part are the rich, the larger those with the skills and contacts which allow them to move from country to country as their work opportunities dictate. Members of the IC take out citizenship and cast it aside as their circumstances require. Rupert Murdoch taking American citizenship to enable him to purchase a US TV station is a classic example. For such people emotional attachment to a country is redundant, citizenship and nationality merely a legal form, residence anywhere merely a place of convenience. Such people will never stand and fight: if the going gets tough where they are they will simply leave. Although relatively small in numbers, such people exercise an influence out of all proportion to their numbers.

Strangers in a strange land

To the uncommitted and outright disaffected amongst those with British citizenship may be added those who are resident here, legally or illegally, without British citizenship. No one knows how many non-citizens are permanently resident because many of the categories of person included are either not counted officially, for example citizens from other EU states, or the entrants are illegal. However, it probably runs into several millions because the categories which are counted such as asylum seekers, family member reunions and work permit holders run into several hundred thousand a year at present and have done for some time.

Those who have no attachment to a place and its people will have far less qualms in damaging the society they live in than those who do. That this is a natural behaviour can be demonstrated simply by pointing to the less inhibited behaviour which is commonly shown by people, of any nationality, when they are abroad.

That tension arises when large numbers of migrants come into a society is only natural where the immigrants from choice or circumstances stand apart from the native population and have sufficient numbers to form ghettos, both physical and men-



Police officers arrest a protester in the streets of Oldham, near Manchester, after riots with Asian youths on a Sunday night in 2001

Legal right and emotional commitment

But even if British citizenship still meant the goods described above – respect for the law and customs and so forth – there is a clear difference between a legal right to citizenship and an emotional attachment to a land and its people. A person could be a good citizen yet still lack an important ingredient of being part of a country – a sense of absolute and unquestioned belonging.

Clearly the immigrant who comes to the country as an adult and then takes out British citizenship is a very different being from the person who has British citizenship by birth and has been raised in Britain. Taking the British example further, the native population of the British mainland consider themselves variously to be English, Scots, Welsh –

tal. At every stage of history Man has formed identifiable and discrete groups – the band, the tribe or the nation. All over the world the same pattern is found. Equally tellingly, whenever a substantial number of people from the same country or culture migrates to the same place, invariably they form ghettos in their new land. All the evidence is that Man needs a defined group to which he feels he belongs.

The effect of serious racial and cultural divisions is profound. They make a free society impossible. To ensure order, governments in the most open societies invariably undermine freedoms such as freedom of expression and freedom of association. There is also a strong tendency to appease minorities if they shout loud enough, with privileges such as 'positive' discrimination and legal remedies for discrimination which are in practice only open to minority members. This in turn increases the resentment of the majority.

That is not to say all migrations are equal in their effects. It is profoundly dishonest to pretend that differences in race and culture do not matter. In 1956 Britain absorbed more than 200,000 Hungarians fleeing after the abortive Hungarian uprising without any great upheaval or indigenous resentment. In the same period the first great surge of immigration from the Caribbean occurred. In 1958 serious race riots occurred in Notting Hill which was then the focus of West Indian settlement. The Hungarians were white, the Caribbeans black. The white Hungarians were generally accepted even though they came from a foreign culture and had English as a second language at best: the black Caribbeans were not, despite being steeped in British culture and history and speaking English as their first and normally their only language.

Forty or so years on, the descendants of the Hungarians are practically indistinguishable from the indigenous population, while the descendants of the Caribbeans remain trapped in a psychological and physical ghetto that is the consequence of their own desires and the perception of the native population.

Patriotism is a practical necessity

The bottom line for any society is that it must be able to defend its territory from invasion or attack. In a free society that means the people must voluntarily defend it. To do that, the population must have a strong sense of belonging to, of 'owning' the territory they inhabit and of being a natural part of the society they inhabit. In short, for a state to ensure its safety, a population must have an instinctive loyalty towards their country, uncorrupted by split loyalties or the idea that there is a foreign bolthole to go to if the going gets hard. Ideally, the population must think that here is where I belong and exile would be a life not worth living: at the least they must think here I must live so here I must fight.

Human beings are not psychological atoms who are "islands unto themselves", but social beings in need of the support of a defined group to which they feel they belong. Commitment to the group – patriotism, a sense of belonging, call it what you will – is not a sentimental relic of a defunct past, it is a necessary part of the function and preservation of a society. Any society which forgets or wilfully ignores that fact is in the starkest danger. Britain is perilously close to that woeful state. All is not yet lost, but it may well be if nothing is done soon.

What can be done?

What could be done to remedy matters if a government had the will? It would first need to recover control over our affairs by withdrawing from the EU and repudiating any treaty which restricts control of our own borders. Having done that, further mass migration by any means could be ended, including asylum claims. Strenuous efforts could be made to identify those here illegally and, once identified, to return them to their countries of origin. Those without British citizenship who are a charge on the taxpayer could be removed to their countries of origin.

The benefits of the welfare state, including access to the NHS and state education could be withheld from all but British citizens to keep costs under control and discourage immigrants. Dual citizenship could be outlawed to clearly focus the mind on what it is to be a British citizen. That would stop the immediate rot.

In addition to those administrative acts we need a government which will make quite clear that being a British citizen is not merely a matter of convenience, that it also requires acceptance of the values of the society and commitment to the society. To that end a government must end state-sponsored multiculturalism and replace it with the promotion of British history and culture. That does not mean a bombastic version of what Britain is and has been, merely the replacement of the current 'Britain is evil' travesty taught in our schools with an honest portrayal of all her doings set honestly in historical context. That policy is as necessary to raise the morale of the native population as it is to impregnate those from minorities with a sense of place.

Can we retrieve the position in which we find ourselves? Frankly, I do not know. Despite the best (or worst) efforts of those who believe in the non-existence of human nature, no society anywhere has been able to change radically basic human behaviour through active indoctrination. It may be that we are forever locked into a pattern of ethnic division. But one thing is certain, if we do not try to retrieve the position soon, Britain as a meaningful national entity is headed for extinction because the numbers of the disaffected or disengaged in Britain are already frightening large and growing massively by the year.

"The effect of serious racial and cultural divisions is profound. They make a free society impossible"

**Robert Henderson
writes from
London**

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Branding – a trivial pursuit

Hadrian Wise says that the mania for branding diminishes us all

Which, of all the bad ideas in history, is the worst? Which has spawned the most nonsense? Probably the idea of 'equality'; but honourable mentions are due to many others, many of them parasitic on equality. A recent one is the idea of 'the brand'.

It is hard to find an agreed definition of 'brand'. Here is a small selection:

"A name, sign or symbol used to identify items or services of the seller(s) and to differentiate them from goods of competitors" – *Dictionary of Business & Management*

"Simply put, a brand is a promise. By identifying and authenticating a product or service it delivers a pledge of satisfaction and quality" – Walter Landor

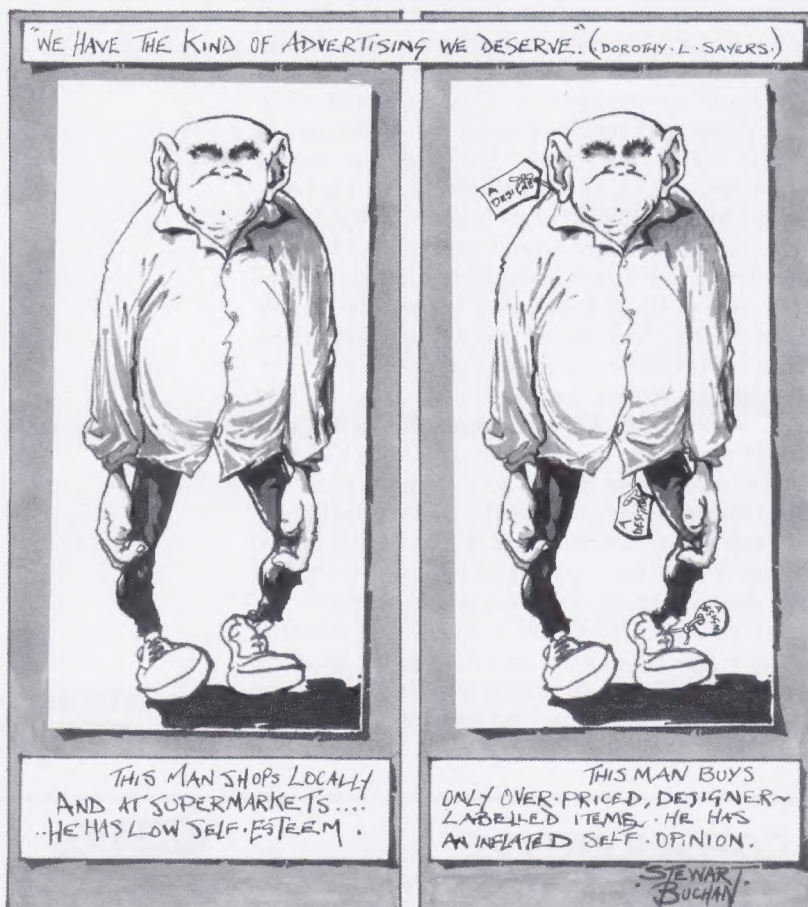
mind of the consumer by advertising. Now what is objectionable about that?

Partly it is the importance attached to it. In the idiom of marketing executives, 'brand is key', 'key' meaning 'most important'. If so, then the perceptions induced in consumers by advertising must be more important than the quality of the product or service itself. What is said about the product is more important than what the product is like. If enough organisations take this idea seriously enough, then it must be bad for consumers. They will be paying companies to create an attractive image of their product rather than a product they will enjoy – *vide* the recent ruling to ban a McDonald's television advertisement portraying its products as more appetising than they are.

The obvious rejoinder to this is that 'brand' is never enough – nobody will continue to buy rubbish that has been dishonestly advertised – or, more ingeniously, that the quality of the product is part of the brand. The consumer's experience of the product will give rise to perceptions just as important as those induced by advertising, so no company can afford to concentrate on advertising to the detriment of product quality. And this is true as far as it goes – only it doesn't go far.

Most people's experience of most products and services – books, music, fine wines, and prostitution excepted – is no very memorable or important part of their experience of life. Baked beans, lager, fizzy drinks – washing machines, cookers, tumble-dryers – cars, televisions, video-recorders – banks and insurance – may be indispensable appurtenances of modern living, but they do not loom large in any but the most intellectually and spiritually impoverished life, and the choice between the different varieties on offer, as long as they are what they are and neither poison us nor fall apart in our hands, is a matter of indifference to anybody whose life has meaning and purpose. The brand is designed to conquer this indifference, by associating the product with something important, which must, therefore, be unrelated to the experience of the product itself. This association with something important naturally has more influence on people's perceptions than the indifferent experience of the product, with the result that products can become ever more similar – all made as cheaply as possible without falling below a certain minimum quality – while advertising gets more and more inventive.

As an example, take the way that various products, from lager to cars to trainers to deodorants, have been associated with popularity and sex appeal. Contrary to what is sometimes said, the intention is not to persuade the public that they will become popular and attractive by buying the products in question, an idea too ridiculous even for advertising, but to imply that the products are already used by the popular and attractive, thus appealing to people who would like to think they were popular and attractive but who perhaps feel the need for external verification that they are. This, of course, includes nearly all of us, so the ploy is



"A brand is a mental box, brand equity a set of assets (or liabilities) linked to a brand's name or symbol that adds to (or subtracts from) the value provided by a product or service" – David Aaker, *Building Strong Brands*

"A brand is a collection of perceptions in the mind of the consumer" – from the web-site of Building Brands, a marketing consultancy.

The first definition is too narrow to cover the current uses of the term. The fourth definition comes closest to doing so, though it fails to say that the perceptions in question are about a product or service and are formed in response to advertising. So let us say that a brand is a collection of perceptions about a product or service, formed in the

often successful. It is also insidious. It encourages us to measure our success in attaining important ends by our consumption of trivial material goods: it encourages us, in other words, to define the important in terms of the trivial.

Focus groups, a favourite market research technique, are notorious for this. While purporting to be a free enquiry into attitudes and opinions, their real purpose is to justify a course of action already agreed upon, by producing a consensus expressed in a preconceived list of categories corresponding to the brand image the company wishes to promote. To guarantee the appearance of consensus, these categories must be broad enough to accommodate widely differing opinions. Either they are so abstract that a range of concrete contradictory opinions can fit into them (in the way that, say, all disagreements fit into the category 'interaction'), or they are so thin and bland that they contain nothing that anybody would find it worth disagreeing with. Either way, people's attitudes and opinions are reduced to the trivially true or bland and unobjectionable, and so trivialised – which they must be, to be associated with the trivial material good that the company wishes to market.

So when the brand defines the important in terms of the trivial, it uses what is already a trivialised (if still recognizable) debasement of the important, and associates it with something intrinsically trivial. Popularity, for example, or being likeable, is reduced in advertisements to a combination of good looks, money, girlfriends and jokes, when in fact we all know plenty of people meeting these criteria who are not likeable at all, because that is all there is to them. No matter: in the world of the advertisement, this is popularity, and one of the marks of popularity is a particular make of deodorant.

Sometimes, of course, differences of opinion are too obvious to be obscured, and the reduction of opinion to a bland image of universal appeal is impossible. When this happens, the marketers resort to another of their favourite techniques, 'profiling', the lumping together of individuals in crude, adventitious categories, such as the 'young', the 'old', 'ABs', 'CDEs', 'whites', and 'ethnic minorities', with which differing opinions are then matched. The company decides that its product can be made to appeal to one or more of these groups, and the attitudes and opinions of people within those groups are accordingly reduced to something trivial and bland in just the way that the attitudes and opinions of people as a whole are reduced to something trivial and bland when differences of opinion are less obvious. But as well as the usual trivialisation, there is also the sinister implication that people's attitudes and opinions are the result of some or other adventitious characteristic – race, 'gender', age, etc – rather than the product of an individual's reasoning about his circumstances.

This implication links modern marketing techniques to both post-modernism and political correctness, which in turn are linked to 'dumbing down'. It is an article of faith with post-modernists that truth is subjective and the laws of reasoning arbitrary, so it is fruitless trying to explain people's beliefs in terms of their rational search for truth; the only explanation is in terms of their 'background'. Any respect we owe them as rational beings must be transferred from the individual to his background,

and, by extension, to the group of people who share that background – hence political correctness, the elevation of the group above the individual. Individuals within those groups are levelled and their individual contributions downgraded, since, after all, nobody can be closer to the truth than anybody else. Hence dumbing down, the reduction of the subtle to the obvious, which, of course, is an indispensable part of the marketer's reduction of the important to the trivial.

We see this particularly in the way that brands are constantly being 'renewed'. As soon as the world has changed enough for a particular symbol's significance to be no longer easily recognized by an imbecile with no knowledge of his society or its history, the symbol is rejected as 'old-fashioned' or 'out of date' or 'irrelevant'. Some new symbol has to take its place – and the more ahistorical, bland, obvious, and contentless it is, the more trite and barren, the better: its appeal is wider, the range of attitudes it encompasses broader, the risk of 'excluding' or 'offending' lower. This elimination of the particular is vital if the brand is to achieve one of its main purposes, the promotion of a product that is the same in every part of the world, a purpose vital in its turn to the global expansion of multinational companies.

I suggested earlier that the idea of the brand owed something to the idea of equality. And so it does, inasmuch as it is a force for blandness, political correctness, dumbing down, and uniformity. But this applies largely to big business. If the brand is a collection of perceptions in the mind of the consumer, then every firm with customers will have a 'brand', even the local corner shop – the appearance of the premises, the range of products sold, the way in which the owner serves his customers. This is not only inevitable; it is harmless, even heartening, in that it suggests a possible defence against the tyranny of the big-business brand.

We cannot ban advertising – it would cost too many jobs and could be enforced only at the cost of curtailing freedom of speech – nor is there much we can do about the power of big business without giving government enough power to do even more damage than business does (at least as long as government is dominated by Left-liberals); but there is one thing all of us who work in business can do, and that is to undermine the control of the marketing executives from the inside, by ridiculing their infantile ideas, obstructing their efforts at every turn, and arguing as vigorously as we can that individual managers should be given the independence to adjust their outlets' 'brands' to local conditions.

We may even succeed in making it enjoyable to work for big business. ○

"The idea of the brand owed something to the idea of equality.... it is a force for blandness, political correctness, dumbing down, and uniformity"

Hadrian Wise is a management consultant

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The great EUphemism

Vivian Linacre says that the EU is trying to eradicate Britain's traditional weights and measures

Just as the EU loves to regard itself as synonymous with 'Europe', overlooking the fact that the 15 states in the former comprise barely one third of the 42 in the latter, supporters of universal metrication love to refer to the 'International System', overlooking the facts that (a) this title commands neither authority nor validity – it could equally well be applied to the global (and infinitely older) Imperial System – and (b) the metric system is foreign to the vast majority of the population of the greatest nation on Earth.

But of course the authorities are well aware that, until the USA's domestic economy – the world's biggest market – converts to metric, neither their long-term nor their short-term aim can be achieved. For it can never become an 'International System'; not only because customary measures pre-dominate within the USA but also because much of the metric countries' export trade supplying US consumers has to be manufactured or at least packaged and priced in the inch-pint-pound units. Nor, meanwhile, will even Britain finally succumb to metrication so long as the nation with which it shares a language and common culture shows no inclination to do so.

So Brussels is exerting every possible pressure and focusing all its 'metrickery' on Washington. A letter, dated 18 November 2002, from Petros Sourmelis, 'Counselor, Head of Trade Section' at the European Commission's Washington office, to Kenneth Butcher of the US National Institute of Standards and Technology, Weights and Measures Division, Law and Metric Group, in Gaithersburg, Maryland, was headed "Metric Only Labeling" and read: "The European Commission welcomes the NIST Metric Program. The United States is the only country in the world that does not accept metric-only labeling, even though the US was one of the founding States of the Metric Convention in 1875. From 1999, all products on the European Union market must be metric-labeled. Even though EU Member States do not use non-metric sizes any more, the transition period, during which the mention of additional non-metric units on labels is tolerated, will run to the end of 2009. After 2009, the EU will allow only metric indications, which is in accordance with international standards. The European Commission is of the opinion that a uniform worldwide system of measurements can only be achieved if the US follows the rest of the world and adopts the International System. The European

Union therefore looks forward to the day when metric-only labeling is accepted all over the US."

Evidently, the normal, practical criteria governing regulations in relation to trade and industry do not apply here. Mr Sourmelis has inserted the first person singular into 'trade' to produce a 'tirade'. To him, this is not a question of what is or is not authorized or permitted but what the European Commission decides is or is not to be 'tolerated'. His choice of that word reveals that the policy of compulsory metrication is not objective or dispassionate but wholly subjective and virulent. It is irrelevant whether continued use of supplementary indi-

cations – which is no more than the provision of additional information – is beneficial to consumers or good for trade. The only test is whether the bureaucrats find it tolerable...and nothing is tolerable if it deviates

"This is not a question of what is or is not authorized or permitted, but what the European Commission decides is or is not to be 'tolerated'..."

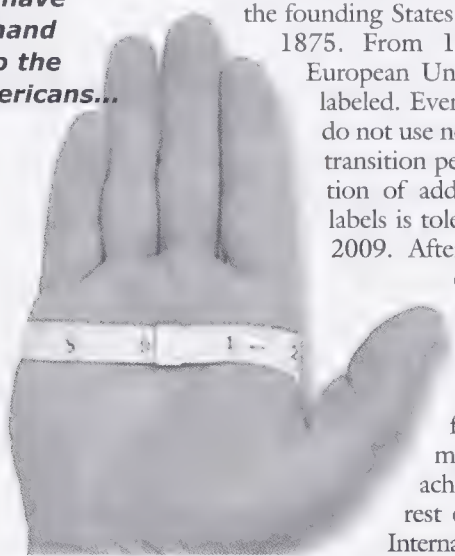
from their aim of total political, economic and cultural regimentation and control.

As the British Weights and Measures Association (BWMA) has argued for many years, compulsory metrication never had anything to do with weights and measures but everything to do with the EU's fear and loathing of the Anglo-American commercial and cultural community. To them, it is bad enough that we share a common language, which has become the global language, with the world's superpower, and they can't do anything about that; but it is worse still that we share a common system of customary weights and measures – which, however, they can do something about by banning it in Britain, thereby depriving us of what they see as an unfair competitive advantage in transatlantic trade.

Pursuing the EC's devious strategy, this attempted coercion of the USA to permit metric-only labelling is not the real objective; for it would be followed by a second attempted coercion, to impose limitations on the continued use of dual marking – customary and metric alongside – and eventually to prohibit use of the customary system altogether. Urging permission for metric-only labelling is intended to be just the thin end of the wedge. What initially the EC asks merely to be permitted would ultimately become the only use that is permitted.

An additional proof that repression of traditional weights and measures in the interests of a metric monopoly is politically rather than economically motivated is that, supposing the EU enlarges to admit the ten current candidates, the number of authorized languages will increase to 21; ie, 420 linguistic combinations – rising to 552 combinations if the extra seven potential candidates join – creating a grotesquely costly and administratively unmanageable Tower of Babel, yet there is no demand for adoption of single language in the interests of efficiency and international understanding (because,

***Resisting
metrication?
we have
to hand
it to the
Americans...***



naturally, it would have to be English!), despite the glaring fact that in any single market a common language must command a higher priority than a single system of weights and measures. But the EC insists that harmonizing weights and measures is an imperative whereas, in the case of languages, indigenous cultures and customs must be respected at any cost. Another single market priority, again much higher than weights and measures, must obviously be a common currency, yet the UK is not committed to that and would need a popular mandate before adopting it, whereas there was no attempt by any UK government to opt-out of compulsory metrication – and none would have dared conduct a popular referendum on the issue!

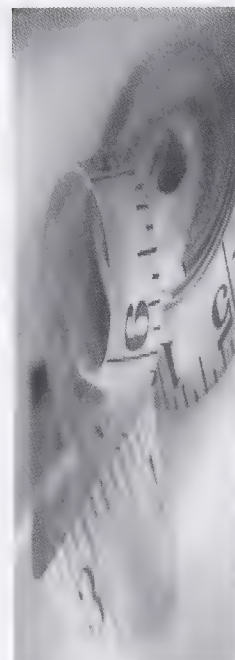
So resistance to compulsory metrication is currently pursuing three distinct directions. One, of course, is the five 'Metric Martyrs' case which has been taken to appeal at the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. The issue here is primarily freedom of expression – specifically freedom of commercial communication – but it will be many months before the formal hearing takes place and possibly years before a judgment is delivered. Consolations for this long delay, however, are that it will prolong uncertainty as to the outcome beyond the next general election, serving meanwhile as a constant irritant to both Brussels and Westminster, and also – on the grounds that a final appeal is still pending – deterring local authorities from embarking on fresh prosecutions. John Wadham, Director of Liberty (the former National Council for Civil Liberties) has heroically volunteered, with his unrivalled experience *vis-à-vis* the ECHR, to act as co-ordinating solicitor for the five appellants, greatly raising their status and profile, much to the fury of the metric monopolists, to whom liberty is a dirty word.

Obviously, another front for resistance must now be pursued within the USA, to repel this attempted subversion of the requirement for display of quantity and pricing in customary measures – alongside metric on pre-packed merchandise ('mandatory dual marking') and optionally alongside metric for loose goods ('weighed at the point of sale'). If readers of *Right Now!* can help in any way in that direction – current names and addresses of congressmen as well as of responsible public bodies, trade federations and interested private associations, potentially sympathetic magazines and other media, etc, and facilities for circularizing same – I would love to hear from them. The people of the US must be made aware of the insidious danger threatening our common heritage and freedom itself. Their constitution would ultimately ensure massive opposition to compulsory metrication across the Union, but we want to prevent the process ever reaching that stage.

Meanwhile, on the domestic front, another long war has begun, to discredit and render unenforceable the regulations to which Mr Sourmelis referred, making it a criminal offence, as from 1 January 2010, to mention imperial units as 'supplementary indications' – ie, merely to show the equivalent of the primary metric marking. The effect would be finally to abolish use of customary measures for any trade purpose. Since there cannot be any difference in law between two labels, one showing quantity and price in metric alone and the other adding the equivalent in imperial to help the cus-

tomers, these regulations are purely vindictive – repression for repression's sake. If, as he claims, we "do not use non-metric sizes any more", why not let the practice of supplementary indications simply wither away? Because the EC, like all tyrannies, knows that if embers are left to smoulder the fire of freedom will soon break out again and consume them.

How appropriate that Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was previously an anthem for Nazi Germany – and the theme for Alex and his droogs in the film of *A Clockwork Orange* – before its adoption by the EU! The reason why the entire 'Euro-sceptic' movement falters is because it is aiming at the wrong target. The danger is not a 'federal superstate': it is far worse than that. There is no resemblance whatever between an organic federation with a clear constitutional structure, based on local autonomy and a common culture, and a highly centralized despotism. (BWMA, ironically, strives to protect imperial weights and measures against a new, imperial power!) The EU is an extreme Right-wing, fascistic state, compared to which its opponents – including the present readership – are woolly liberals. Who's afraid of a 'federal superstate'? That is the great EUphemism. No wonder the public are undeterred. The only warning they hear is 'Beware of the Pussycat', when there's a ravenous tiger inside. ○



**Vivian Linacre is
Director of the
British Weights
and Measures
Association**

English Dissident Verse

A Sociologist

Your concern to preserve identities
of immigrants suggests a man who cares.
And yet, Professor, not a single word
about the natives slowly losing theirs.

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Studying brainwashing at Aberdeen

Edward Dutton writes from the intellectual front line

How ironic that of all the places I could have done a PhD about brainwashing I chose Aberdeen University. When I told my undergraduate friends what I was doing, there was the expected chorus of mock-concern, "Oh . . . don't let those happy-clappy Christians brainwash you", said one friend. "You'll be releasing poisoned gas on to the Underground network before you know it!" In fact, the group I'm studying haven't attempted to actively brainwash anyone. There are all the subtleties, of course, that we're trained to pick-up on – mild love-bombing, mild thought control. But there is only one group at the university really trying to brainwash people – Aberdeen University itself.

Aberdeen University has always had an ideology. It was established in 1495 by Bishop Elphinstone to train priests. In the 18th Century it sacked a number of lecturers for Jacobite sympathies and the anthropologist

William Robertson-Smith was famously fired for being a liberal Christian. Needless to say, its current ideology is precisely the ideology we would expect of a university in contemporary Britain. It is Leftwing, it is politically correct and it is utterly intolerant of anything that stands in its way. Like all tightly controlled sects, students must sign up to the ideology before they join. They must assent to "a multicultural environment", which may be laudable but is only part of the currently accepted ideology. As long as they signed up

these politically correct articles of faith and kept their heads down, it used to be the case that the university would interfere no further with their lives – but not any more.

Now, control of information at Aberdeen is so proactive that students cannot even see things that do not fit in with the university's ideology, at least not on campus. Under the policy of 'Web Content Filtering', students and staff are now prevented from entering any pornography sites. This in itself might sound reasonable, but the university's policy is not just to bar students from accessing pornography sites but any sites they deem 'undesirable'. Only the People's Republic of China – with its very different Leftwing ideology – operates such a draconian and anti-civil-liberties policy on the Internet. More than anything, this is a deeply anti-intellectual policy. This policy ensures that students are dependent on the whims of some higher power – the People's Republic of Aberdeen University deciding that something might be a bad influence on their comrade.

I was under the impression that one of the most important things which a university was supposed to teach students was independence – independence of thought, and the ability to live independently. But, more importantly, what is this term 'undesirable'? It would be one thing if the university had prevented students from entering the sites of child

pornographers or political groups that advocate violence. Although such restrictions would be anti-intellectual, because they assume the rightness of the political status quo, and also deeply patronising, many people would understand. But the policy blocks 'undesirable websites'. This term 'undesirable' may sound harmless but it is, in fact, one of the most dangerous terms there can be.

A list of undesirable websites will simply reflect the ideology of the people compiling the list. So, this policy is nothing more than an attempt to impose an ideology on student's lives – or at least their Internet lives. It is really akin to American prohibition. The university cannot stop people drinking, making alcohol or selling it but it can stop them doing it in the public domain – or on Aberdeen University – and thus make this domain appear sober. Of course, this is total fantasy. But who cares, as long as things seem okay to the outside observer? It is also a haphazard policy which allows certain 'undesirable' websites to slip through, while objectively 'desirable' websites are prohibited.

But the university's policies, at any one time, are, of course, intellectually built on sand. They simply reflect a questionable and contemporary ideology. In this case it would be the current paradigms that men and women are equal, all races are equal and democracy is better than violence. I'm not going to even discuss these paradigms only to say that they are purely contemporary and have not always been assented to. The university do impose these paradigms on students and, to a degree, indoctrination is the whole point of education. We are taught to believe in empiricism over divine inspiration, reasoned argument over rhetoric. But Web Content Filtering prevents students from accessing anything on the Internet which begs to question these paradigms. This is clearly completely at odds with the very purpose of a university – to question, to debate, to discuss, to be impartial and unbiased and listen to and examine alternative ideas and ways of life. At Durham University, where I was an undergraduate, students had to click "OK" on a form stating that they would "use the Internet for mainly academic purposes" before they were allowed to enter the network. If they looked at pornography – or the websites of terrorist groups – they had to justify it or face disciplinary action. But at least at Durham they had (and have) the choice. They could think for ourselves and face the consequences.

At Aberdeen, there will soon be no choice, no room for independent thought or manoeuvre. Web Content Filtering policy imposes an objective moral code, although most academics would agree that there is no such thing. In order to run the university, there must be some kind of moral code but one would expect the University to want to avoid imposing this – and compromising its academic integrity – wherever possible.

Unsurprisingly, it is impossible to have an intelligent debate at the university over this crucial issue. When I raised it in the university newspaper, the



Aberdeen University: a venerable centre of learning for over 500 years – or so its prospectus says...

head of IT published a response in which she sought to question my academic integrity. She then wrote to me to inform that her reasons for implementing the policy were, in fact, nothing to do with ideology. Apparently, on one or two occasions, female students had been in the computer room at 4am and had felt deeply threatened by male students looking at on-line pornography.

If this is so, the policy is an extreme knee-jerk reaction akin to banning sweets because two children have choked on them. One could equally react by putting special screens on the monitors so that one could only see their contents if one were directly in front of them. It is, moreover, a highly emotive style of argument which essentially portrays its antagonist as misogynistic. Intelligent people must rise above such sophistry. But most importantly, it clearly reflects an ideology: to the university, it seems that the right of a woman not to be emotionally disturbed when looking at someone else's computer monitor in the early hours of the morning is more important than academic freedom.

And it is not just in higher education that these attempts at indoctrination occur. Recently, the government quietly dropped the compulsory modern language at GCSE to replace it with "Citizenship Studies". Now, one should always be wary of something with the word 'studies' in it. It will almost certainly have a political agenda and be so vague as to teach students everything and nothing at the same time – think of Women's Studies and Media Studies. But at least these have a little subtlety. Citizenship Studies is overtly ideological. Students will be taught what it is to be British – which will of course be 'part of a diverse multicultural society' – or at least what Labour thinks it is. Teaching students a foreign language and – by extension a foreign culture – would make them think about the nature of Britishness and give them a useful skill. But for Labour, the indoctrination aspect would not be present. Just teaching a foreign language is too haphazard for their purposes. No wonder the British are the worst in Europe at foreign languages.

Academia is not about ideology. It is about independent, critical thought. These days, most people find it amazing that, for example, one could not teach at Aberdeen in the 19th Century unless one was a Christian or that one could not teach Einstein's theories at German universities in the 1930s. But the same problems occur today, with academics being boycotted because they are Israeli or Rightwing. A policy like that recently imposed at Aberdeen is an intellectual *coup d'état*. The fact that we won't be allowed to enter pornographic and 'far Right' websites might seem trivial to many. But this policy is not a hundred miles from public burnings of books by Freud and Einstein, the banning of books by D H Lawrence and the sacking of professors at Berlin University because they would not say, "Sieg Heil".

And how successful is this scheme? I am studying in Holland next year, yet I was prevented the other day from entering a website to help me learn Dutch because it had been 'blacklisted'. So in my case at least, Aberdeen is stopping a student from learning a foreign language – I'm sure Mr Blair would support this policy wholeheartedly. ○

Edward Dutton writes from Aberdeen



The roofless nave of St Martin's church, in the deserted village of Wharram Percy, in the Yorkshire Wolds 25 miles east of York. Inhabited since Neolithic times, Wharram Percy had about 150 inhabitants at its peak. It was eventually abandoned circa 1500, because of changing farming practices.

During the 18th century, the site became a farm, and in 1853 even acquired a railway station by virtue of its proximity to what was then an important quarry. But the railway closed in the 1950s, and the last inhabitants left in the 1970s.

Wharram Percy is the best-preserved of about 100 known deserted village sites in the Yorkshire Wolds.

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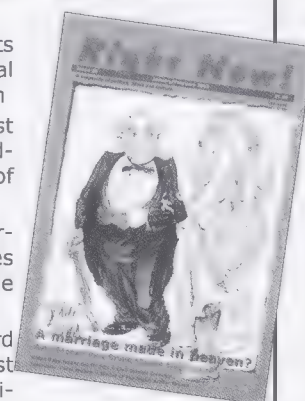
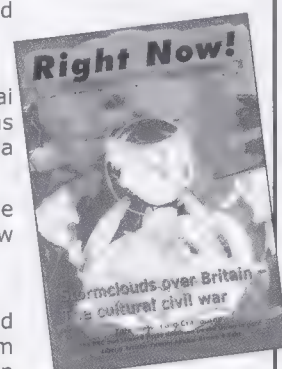
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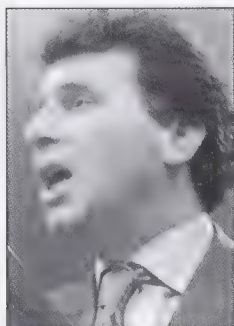


A fair deal for homosexuals

J Alan Smith asks some awkward questions about Labour's plans for homosexual parity



Barbara Roche, the Minister of Social Exclusion and Equalities, and Oliver 'Leftwing' Letwin, the Shadow Home Secretary: a 'partnership' of views?



The government has published a proposal to give homosexual couples the right to register 'civil partnerships' that would give them the same rights as married couples on next-of-kin, inheritance tax, pensions and property. It is not proposed to extend the same rights to unmarried heterosexual couples, though this could be added during the passage of the necessary legislation. Barbara Roche, the Minister of Social Exclusion and Equalities, said that these civic partnerships would not be equivalent to marriage; Oliver Letwin, Shadow Home Secretary, said that it would be possible to set up these civic partnerships for homosexual couples without undermining the special status of marriage. Yeah, right.

One event that prompted this proposal was the ruling of the High Court in 2002 that, under the Human Rights Act, homosexual couples should be treated as husband and wife in tenancy agreements. This is another example of the nonsense that human rights legislation has generated. Presumably a homosexual couple could negotiate a joint tenancy agreement. Why should such a couple be treated more favourably than two people of the same sex who merely wished to rent a property together?

We need to distinguish the underlying objectives of such proposals from the superficial objectives. A fundamental objective of the *bien pensantry* is to establish the moral equivalence of heterosexuality and homosexuality. This lay behind the recent parliamentary acceptance of adoption by homosexual couples, giving such couples a legal status. Such purported equivalence is nonsense: a society could survive a century without homosexual activity; it could not survive a century without heterosexual activity.

Marriage has a special legal status because of a society's need to propagate children; the *Book of Common Prayer* says of matrimony: "First, it was ordained for the procreation of children". Some married couples may intend not to have children, but *abusum non tollit usum*. The problems experienced by one-parent families demonstrate the need for children to have two parents as a norm and for the state to buttress the institution of marriage with both responsibilities and privileges.

Single people and married people should each be treated fairly but that does not mean equally. Similarly, homosexual couples should be treated fairly with respect to married couples but that does not mean equally. There is no need to register civic partnerships for homosexual couples. Instead, their specific grievances should be examined separately but resolved in such a way that they apply to any couples; two men, or two women, sharing a house should not be given special treatment merely because they are engaging in homosexual activities. Unmarried, cohabiting, heterosexual couples who wish to enjoy the privileges of marriage have an obvious solution. Let us, then, examine the problems that have been raised by homosexual couples and see how they can be resolved by solutions applicable to all.

A person should be allowed to nominate somebody to be their 'next-of-kin' to override normal family defaults; this would benefit, not merely a

member of a homosexual couple, but also someone whose next-of-kin is remote either in family connection or geographically.

Anyone should be allowed to include a named person or persons as co-beneficiaries in their pension rights, as long as appropriate provision is made in the level of pension contributions; otherwise the additional pension payments would be made at the expense of other contributors to the pension fund. In particular, we should look very carefully at the way public sector pensions are funded.

The inheritance tax problems should be eased by doubling the threshold immediately and an investigation should then be conducted to see whether or not it should be abolished entirely. Another way of easing the problem of inheritance tax would be to permit the tenure of property by two or more people through a form of tontine. On the death of other than the last partner in the tontine, his share would be distributed among the survivors, without the payment of inheritance tax; only on the death of the final partner would inheritance tax be paid.

Despite the general arguments against civic partnerships, it is probable that the government will proceed with the proposal. What, then, are the detailed problems that ought to be examined? Some points may appear obvious, but the substantial increase in the volume of legislation over recent decades has had a detrimental effect on the quality.

Would a person be prohibited from entering into multiple partnerships, the equivalent of bigamy among married couples?

Would a person married to someone of the opposite sex be prohibited from entering into a civic partnership with someone of the same sex?

Would there be a procedure for the dissolution of civic partnerships, the equivalent of divorce among married couples?

If a person acquired pension rights through such a partnership, would the entitlement to the pension rights accrued up to the point of dissolution be retained?

Are there prohibited relationships that would bar two homosexuals from entering a civic partnership, similar to those that would preclude marriage? The ban on incest has two basic reasons: the increased risk of handicap that could result from inbreeding and the danger of undue influence having been exercised if two potential marriage partners had grown up with one having a familial authority over the other. The first argument would not apply to a homosexual couple, their union being necessarily sterile. The second, however, would apply.

Would actual homosexual activity be a requirement for such a civic partnership? It is not difficult to imagine two heterosexual men, or women, who have decided to share a house, registering a civic partnership in order to gain the tax advantages while proclaiming to all and sundry that they were not homosexuals at all, let alone practising ones. Just imagine the prosecution of two men, or two women, for not indulging in homosexual acts. It sounds like a case for Mr Justice Cocklecarrot! ○

J Alan Smith is the editor of *Prag*

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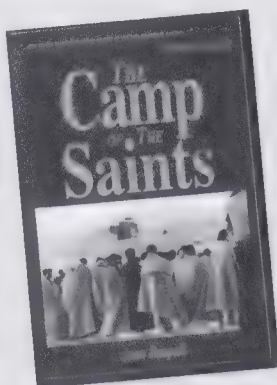
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The Pianist

Adrian Sherman watches a great director's powerful new film
Cert 15, 145 minutes,
directed by Roman Polanski



Pictures concerning themselves with the evil side of human nature often retain the ability both to repulse and transfix the audience in equal measure, and there are moments in *The Pianist* when this heady cocktail of emotions is present. The film is initially noteworthy as it heralds the return to Hollywood's inner sanctum of the controversial Roman Polanski. *The Pianist* will inevitably invite comparison with Spielberg's *Schindler's List*; however, *The Pianist* exudes a certain unassuming nature throughout as a consequence of Polanski's personal experiences of the traumas that pervade the period.

A high degree of conventionality is evident throughout, and those searching for surprises will, I fear, be disappointed. Spielman (the eponymous pianist), played convincingly by the brooding Adrian Brody, is a talented member of a middle class Jewish family with whom we are invited to empathise, the steady erosion of his rights and dignity providing the platform from which the rest of the film draws its inspiration. The portrayal of the Warsaw Ghetto is arguably where *The Pianist* transmits an authoritative authenticity that could only have been derived from Polanski's firsthand knowledge. The scenes of people returning to a basic

instinct of self-preservation in the face of depravity are thoughtfully scripted and played. It is unsurprising that many Jews lost their faith in this period, for it never to return.

The Pianist thus proceeds to lose its way somewhat, as Spielman attempts to keep mind and body together in the teeth of the threat of capture by the Nazis or his 'fellow countrymen'. The numerous scenes of atrocities are chilling when viewed in isolation, but in the context of a continuous story, one may become strangely anaesthetised or perhaps even blasé regarding the graphic on-screen evil. Nevertheless, Polanski pays good service to the work of the Polish underground, but correctly juxtaposes the good of some Poles with the blatant anti-Semitism of others.

The Pianist is an admirable piece of direction that has been recognised both in Europe, with the achievement of the *Palme D'Or* at Cannes and three Oscars at this year's Academy Awards: Best Actor, Director and Adopted Screenplay. However, the film suffers from poor editing and, at 145 minutes, is around 20 minutes too long, with the fugitive scenes a little turgid and threatening to swamp the whole picture. But the admirable cinematography more than compensates for these shortcomings, and Polanski captures the atmosphere of Warsaw splendidly. Whether *The Pianist* marks a return to active direction for Polanski or merely represents a 'signing off' project that completes the full circle of his remarkable and eventful life one cannot say with certainty. Along with *Schindler's List*, this film marks the most celebrated testament to the Holocaust, and for those who appreciate concert performances *The Pianist* can be said to justify the admission fee in this respect alone. ○

Music: Songs to Shakespeare

Stuart Millson is enchanted by a disc of English song

Hyperion, one of Britain's most remarkable - even esoteric - independent recording labels, has captured performances of superlative quality and taste. Unusual or neglected items of the repertoire are Hyperion's speciality, and in this season of springtime melting into summer, what could be more apposite than their collection of *Songs to Shakespeare*?

The cover of the disc at once sets the mood: a moonlit glade with a circle of dancing figures watched over by Puck - a painting by Richard Dadd (1817-66). The music, sung by the rich, effortlessly clear voice of Anthony Rolfe Johnson, with Graham Johnson, piano, steers the listener through nearly 300 years of English music - from Thomas Arne to Michael Tippett, by way of the "later Georgians", such as Vaughan Williams and Roger Quilter (1877-1953).

Quilter is an overlooked figure in our musical life, but emerges as one of the most delicate craftsmen and sculptors of melody that England ever produced. Quilter's settings of Shakespeare sound almost as if the Bard had written his works for the composer - so incomparably lovely are they. "Come

away, come away death..." from *Twelfth Night* sends droplets of piano notes into a trance-like atmosphere, with a higher "counter-melody" setting a seal on Anthony Rolfe Johnson's later line: "I am slain by a fair cruel maid..."

Yet it is the setting of "It was a lover and his lass" which is the highpoint of this record - the song opening and strolling in a mood of simple wistfulness, then gently changing direction, and heading to a gorgeous affirmation - "In spring time, the only pretty ring time/When birds do sing, hey ding a ding ding/Sweet lovers love the spring". It is the sort of song that is difficult to dislodge from the mind - affecting, even tearful in its supreme beauty.

Quilter, the master-craftsman of song, also provided the orchestral repertoire with a handful of charming works, including the dance-like *Children's Overture*, and music for a mystical play about the return of St George - *Where the Rainbow Ends*. The composer's output (like so many of the items on Hyperion's disc) is the distillate of a certain type of Englishness - glimpses of which can be found in a fleeting Shakespearean nocturne, or a spring day in which a lover and his lass wish that a life "was but a flower..."

Songs to Shakespeare, Hyperion,
CDA66480, full price



Those of us who encounter great but neglected works owe a duty to the world to promote our finds, and on this basis I would like to praise the works of Potteries-born Havergal Brian.

The life of Brian (1876-1972) was not a successful one. Various a carpenter and a miner in and around Stoke-on-Trent, he eked out a living in later years as a composer and critic, ending his 96 years in a council flat overlooking Shoreham Harbour in Sussex. His 32 surviving symphonies, some on a scale that make Bruckner and Mahler look positively timid, lay neglected until the composer reached his eighties; then a concerted effort by the BBC saw the first performance of many works which still deserve to form part of the standard post-romantic repertoire. Whilst his music was performed under the likes of Sir Henry Wood, and was also admired by Richard Strauss, Elgar and the composer's friend Sir Granville Bantock, it never took root.

For most, knowledge of Brian is limited to the immense First Symphony of 1919-27, nicknamed "The Gothic", considered to be the longest symphony yet written by any composer (it includes a *Te Deum* in its closing section). But the present selection is of orchestral pieces from both Brian's early and later careers; a distinct musical language binds the symphonies despite the 50 years – and a move towards greater dissonance – that separate first from last. The truncated climaxes, the dissonant use of brass and an unusually prominent employment of percussion are all his ubiquitous trademarks.

Helios has released Brian's awe-inspiring Third Symphony of 1931-2, with the 120-piece BBC Symphony Orchestra under Lionel Friend. The work opens with the evolution of a simple but bounding motif from the two pianos and brass echoed by orchestra, glockenspiel and timpani. The pianos then provide a prominent but non-virtuosic percussion effect throughout the andante genesis, returning occasionally thereafter alongside such diverse company as an organ, celesta, castanets and gong. The work opens out during the first movement into a wide expanse of orchestral dissonance, competing themes running hither and thither in a structured yet discordant manner. The succeeding *lento* is a more serene affair, followed by a riotous and festive *allegro vivace* with a gallant and distinctively British fanfare on the trumpet cohort. There follows, in the final *lento solenne*, a lethargic and muted amble through the symphonic development of the work, a calm before the storm of the coda, and it is this coda which must rank as one of the most breathtaking ever written, strangely unfulfilled in its musical desires, leaving one hankering for more. Alas, no more is to come. It is tragic that this, Brian's favourite, was never heard by the composer and received its premiere in 1974, two years after his death.

The rarity specialists Marco Polo have undertaken to record all of Brian's 32 symphonies and more. An essential starter will be the disc containing the 17th and 32nd Symphonies. It opens with a bold evocation of Edwardian grandeur and solemnity that is the wonderful 1910 tone-poem *In Memoriam*, with its rich march-like rhythms woven into a pastiche of a grand state occasion. This piece seems to sum up the British pomp at the turn of the 20th Century, with a peerless regal splendour that ought to appeal to followers of Elgar. Adrian Leaper and the National Symphony Orchestra of Ireland perform excellently; *Festal Dance* (1908) is a tuneful, jolly piece believed to be a surviving fragment of Brian's lost programmatic *Fantastic Symphony*. Symphonies 17 and 32 are works in a later style that combines post-romantic grandeur with the mildly discordant turns of Strauss tone-poems, yet retaining a distinctly British atmosphere.

Music: The life of Brian

James Lockwood reminds us of a neglected British musical talent

Also released by Marco Polo is the Fourth Symphony, called *Das Siegeslied* or "The Psalm of Victory", based around Martin Luther's German translation of Psalm 68 – a favoured war song of Oliver Cromwell's. Lovers of choral symphonies will be drawn to this epic masterpiece of 1932-33, with its foreboding of the European troubles of that decade, of which Brian as a committed Germanophile was acutely aware. Despite opening with a flourishing fanfare, the work quickly transforms into a cacophony of Mahlerian orchestral force and sheer vocal power. A common theme of Brian's is the building of orchestral forces against the simple motif of a march rhythm, and this can be heard throughout, powerfully demonstrated as against the words "They have seen thy goings, O God; even the goings of my God, my King, in the sanctuary" in the third movement. It is not a work for the faint-hearted and is awe-inspiring down to the last fantastic note of the invigorating finale.

Coupled with the Fourth is Brian's one-movement Twelfth Symphony of 1957. The work is more reflective, more solemn yet more lyrical than *Das Siegeslied*, with nevertheless the dissonant brass stirrings and triumphant passages that are Brian's calling card. Intended as a reflection of the anti-hero Agamemnon, Brian later called for it to be used also as an overture to his (sadly unrecorded) opera *Agamemnon* of the same year, itself described as a "curtain-raiser" to Strauss' *Elektra*.

In 2002, EMI released a double CD set of Brian gems, recorded by the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic and Sir Charles Mackerras (for the first CD, recorded in 1987) and Sir Charles Groves (for the second, recorded in 1977).

Brian's *Tinker's Wedding Overture*, after the comedy by Synge, begins with a wild flourish, a paean of orchestral colour, and continues in this vein save for a short rustic conversation between the woodwinds. Also on the first CD, Symphony No 31 of 1968 is a one-movement affair, and as with the 32nd evolves around truncated fanfares and dissonant moments on the brass, within a tonal and uniquely English framework. There is an emotional, strained discourse between the high strings, before the short work winds on its way to a stirring conclusion. Coupled with it is the Symphony No 7 of 1948, which bears the hallmark of Brian in its solemnity and its use of vast orchestral forces and plentiful percussion. This is perhaps Brian at his most reflective, and seems imbued with a rich texture of the English symphonic masters that preceded him.

The Eighth Symphony (1949) is scored for triple woodwind, a large brass section (including euphonium), strings, piano and a percussion section requiring seven players. It is an austere work with tortured moments and strained passages. The work is torn between the opposing forces of restraint and power, the ending passacaglia indicating that the latter has ultimately prevailed. The Eighth, with its apparent occasional quotes from the corresponding symphony by Bruckner, is indeed an epic work, combining regal strains with ethereal passages on the percussion.

Orchestrally vast, the Ninth Symphony of 1951 is a tumultuous work with abrupt, racy passages on glockenspiel or horns. Lasting just under half an hour, it is evocative both of a brooding contemplation in the opening adagio and of merry skips through sun-bleached glades until dusk falls in the closing *allegro moderato*. The best points of Brian may be found in this symphony – the unique use of abrupt brass and percussion climaxes, the skipping nature of the woodwind and strings and the power and atmosphere of this much-neglected English master. ○



Havergal Brian:

Symphonies Nos 4 & 12 on Marco Polo (8.223447)

Czechoslovak Radio Symphony Orchestra conducted by Adrian Leaper

Symphonies Nos 17 & 32/In Memoriam/Festal Dance on Marco Polo (8.223481)

National Symphony Orchestra of Ireland conducted by Adrian Leaper

Symphony No 3 on Helios (CDH55029)
BBC Symphony Orchestra conducted by Lionel Friend

Symphonies Nos 7, 8*, 9* & 31/Tinker's Wedding on EMI (two CDs) (5 75782 2)
Royal Liverpool Philharmonic – Sir Charles Mackerras – Sir Charles Groves*



The website of the Havergal Brian Society may be found at:
www.hyperion-records.co.uk/societies/brian.html

The West and the Rest

Roger Scruton, ISI Books,
Wilmington, Delaware, USA, 2003,
187pps, hb, US\$19.95

Reviewed by Andrew Fear

The title of this brief book is deceptive for two reasons. First, the "rest" turns out in essence to be the Islamic world: there is no discussion of other major world cultures. Secondly, at first sight it may seem that it is a book aimed to appeal to the stupid Right, especially that found in North America, who have been aching to find a clear enemy on whom to vent their rage since the collapse of the Soviet Union, but mercifully this is not the case. This is not to say that such people will not find some solace here. Nevertheless, Scruton sees strengths in the Islamic world which he is happy to praise and important weaknesses in what he calls the "West" which he is not afraid to underline.

Scruton begins with an extremely modernising definition of the West which he sees characterised by the rule of politics rather than mere power. 'Politics' are glossed as "the freedom to participate in the process of government and to protest against, dissent from, and oppose the decisions that are made in my name", producing the 'personal state'. Scruton's definition means that virtually the entire history of Europe until the mid-19th Century must be classed as non-Western, a somewhat striking approach.

For Scruton the West begins with what he is pleased to call 'the Enlightenment'; it is at this point that he sees Europe's rupture with the Islamic world occurring. Above all, for Scruton the "Enlightenment" tamed religion, reducing it to a matter of personal taste rather than one of state policy. This he sees as producing the nation-state as we know it today, for as religion declined, so the territorial nation state with a defined territory and a secular law-code, relating firmly to that territory, took its place as a focus of man's loyalty. This enlightenment territorial state is a 'community of strangers' presided over by indifferent laws.

Prior to this period Scruton sees the world composed of Spenglerian 'creed communities' – defined by allegiance above all to a certain dogma, therefore non-territorial and normally universalist in its ambitions. Scruton is happy to accept that for a large portion of its history Europe was a creed community, namely Christendom. When we consider that this period begins in AD 395 and ends perhaps in AD 1789, we can again see that Scruton's West is a creature virtually without a past. Scruton qualifies his claim by noting that Christianity grew up within the Roman Empire and thus was restrained by the administration of the secular state. He sees this as particularly



Books

*"Reading maketh a full man" –
Bacon*

true of Roman law, which he believes is derived from "independent judicial reasoning" rather than a sacred source.

Unfortunately, this is only partly the case. Many laws produced in the later Roman Empire make an explicit appeal to Christianity. Religion has also had a hand in many laws well into Scruton's 'Western' period down to our own times. Moreover, there is another intriguing question to be raised here. Throughout most of European history religion has acted as a useful constraint on the civil power, as illustrated by the dictum preserved by St Isidore of Seville: "Rex eris, si recte facias: si non facias, non eris", where the twin touchstones of righteousness were justice and piety (*Etymologies* 9.3.4-5). Purely civic states have never existed. Even Enlightenment products such as the rebel colonies of America resorted to deism rather than out-and-out secularism as their founding creed, and in general this religious substratum to the state has been an influence for the good and its erosion in modern times has allowed the rise of much of what Scruton deplores, as he at last concedes (p.82).

In general Scruton claims too much for the 'Enlightenment'. A glance at Tacitus' *Germania* or Anglo-Saxon England shows a healthy respect for the position of women in society and for communal decision-making well – before the 'Enlightenment' touched upon such matters. There might also be some historical problems with the definition. It seems clear that Scruton feels that the 'West' is more or less Europe and the Americas, but the 'Enlightenment' was not a uniform phenomenon within Europe nor were its effects. Here there is in essence a claim that Catholic Europe is less 'Western' than the Protestant north-west and there

must be even stronger doubts over the 'Western' credentials of Orthodox Europe.

As for the Islamic world, Scruton sees it as "unenlightened" in the sense that the secular nation-state generated in the 18th Century never arrived there, or has done so, as in the case of Turkey (and, though unmentioned, Tunisia) only with difficulty. This has made civic society impossible, as no ruler has been able to embed his power against the claims of religion. Again, there is some truth in these claims, but only some truth. A glance at Islamic history shows that religion was forced to compromise, albeit in different forms, with secular concerns as much as in the West.

Overall, as regards the nation-state, Scruton finds himself caught in a cleft-stick. The Enlightenment project of which he approves is deeply hostile to particularism, and yet for Scruton it is precisely particularism which holds a community together. Another factor Scruton holds dear, indeed vital, is that a community should share a heritage, but Scruton's 'West' as defined has hardly any heritage at all. He is greatly concerned by what he calls a "culture of repudiation" to be found in the West and rightly points out its deeply corrosive effects. However, the culture whose decline he rightly laments was not a product of 'reason'. At best it could be said in a Burkean way that it is a particular refraction, or better perhaps refractions, of reason in a specific part of the world. In other words, our society is a mélange of the creed community and abstract rationality. Abstract rationality standing alone is a powerful corrosive of parochial values and thus the higher it is placed without constraint in a society the more it will undermine societal ties. This dilemma was pointed out in the 14th Century by the great Islamic sociologist Ibn Khaldun whom Scruton cites, but sadly only to dismiss. While Scruton dismisses Khaldun as sterile, his own lament on the decline of the 'West' (p.82) seems strangely to come to the same conclusion.

The fashion for denying the validity of parochial loyalty and values in the West, has been, far from the aspirations of the proponents of this policy which are not nihilism but the creation of a 'global village' with 'universal' values, simply *anomie*. In practice, the levelling 'respect' of multiculturalism means there is no place for culture at all. In these circumstances of growing chaos, given that the human condition is such that it seeks order, the appeal of Islam, or indeed Christian fundamentalism, is obvious. Indeed, Scruton is generous in his praise for the way in which the Islamic community has resisted this problem of alienation with far greater determination than the modern 'West'. Again Scruton's

Enlightenment chickens seem to come home to roost here as the parts of Europe which have managed best to resist the deracination which he detests and preserve the particularism he praises are precisely those least affected by the 'Enlightenment'.

Scruton goes further than to note the phenomenon of Western self-evisceration. He sees that the West in its death agonies is generating another creed community - one determined to brook no opposition in areas where free thought has traditionally reigned in Europe, such as academia. He could usefully expand this notion to the field of foreign policy. Scruton is deeply worried about the growth of trans-national corporations and the lack of legal restraint placed on them, rightly seeing this as a problem which antagonises the populations of the 'West' and threatens the parochial values of the 'rest'. It is particularly heartening to see a conservative author express scepticism about 'free trade' and show concern for the great damage this dogma can do to local communities. Nevertheless, more emphasis could be placed on the phenomenon that out of the ashes of the nation-state, a new creed community has arisen, one which armed with a dogma of nihilistic 'freedom', normally expressed through slogans such as 'human rights' and 'free trade', is determined to impose, by armed force if necessary, its vision of righteousness on the rest of the world. The 'West's' intervention in Kosovo and attack on Iraq are not the limited *raison d'état* wars of 18th Century Enlightenment Europe, but rather crusades. Similarly the 'privatisation' of vast amounts of the machinery of state has performed a 'confiscation of politics' just as effectively as Scruton believes it was carried out by earlier religious dogmatists. The product of this process has been a profound alienation from democratic politics which has served to further undermine 'Western' communities. The conclusions Scruton draws from his survey are similar in many ways to those of Huntington's *Clash of Civilisations*. Above all he wishes to constrain globalisation and not foist the 'West' on the 'rest'. He is happy to concede that this will require the abandonment of many modern shibboleths such as multiculturalism and free trade.

To sum up, Scruton's genealogy of the 'West' seems awry. But his analysis of the malaise Europe finds itself in is sharp and cogent, and his solution to these problems persuasive, yet he offers no map for us to navigate to our goal. While Christianity appears to have reached the end of its life-span, secular enlightenment also seems to have failed as a viable alternative. One feels that Scruton would be happy with the gods of pagan Greece and Rome, but, alas, the stream of religion is

not reversible. Perhaps Scruton's next project should be a volume on enlightened Conservatism to help us out of this dilemma.

Andrew Fear writes from Staffordshire

Marketing the Revolution The new anti-capitalism and the attack upon corporate brands

Michael Mosbacher, Social Affairs Unit, London, 2002, 85pps, pb, £9.95

Reviewed by Roger Jolly

Michael Mosbacher is deputy director of the Social Affairs Unit, which has a specific agenda of opposing market regulation but also claims to support social stability. This book is a critique of the anti-branding propaganda within anti-globalisation, which he says is a disguised opposition to capitalism in general. He believes the anti-brand focus is a replacement for the failed politics of anti-capitalism - that anti-globalisation is only a form of anti-capitalism by other means. Well, yes and no.

To a certain extent, anti-globalisation is a portmanteau term which describes contradictory responses to the contradictory processes - often misunderstood on both Left and Right - of globalisation itself. As Mosbacher points out, many of the anti-brand campaigns have adopted PR methods of pinpointing brands and their impact. But do corporations have a valid complaint about such methods being used by their opponents? He correctly underlines how corporations themselves have tried to undermine the anti-brand movement by co-opting and funding it, exposing almost symbiotic contradictions at every layer. The chapter describing this process is the best part of this work.

To that extent, anti-capitalists have adopted the rules of the market place to launch an ideological battle. The success of some (not all) anti-globalisation campaigns have badly rattled specific brands. But how would they have responded if they had been beaten by a competing brand? Do they seek protection in the battle of ideas/products?

Opposition to brands is also the politics of symbolic representation. It constitutes an inversion of the use of symbols which semioticians have described. Social conflict is mediated through symbols which operate at different levels - not always properly articulated. Brands and symbols also reflect the opposition to what they represent. That is why the 'McLibel' campaign gathered so much international support, in spite of a rather flimsy case.

Mosbacher is less accurate in describing the process as only anti-capitalist, for the roots of anti-globalisation do not

stem only from the remnants of the old Left. Much of the opposition has a Christian Democratic or green flavour, which has coalesced with new social movements which themselves represent the contradictions of societies in deep flux. Not all opposition is anti-capitalist. It includes Luddite, 'deep ecology' and animal rights groups (which are opportunistically exploiting anti-globalisation) but also local capitalist formations which have been seriously undermined by the homogenisation which globalisation brings. It is also a defence of national and regional localisms and identities. Where some brands achieve market stranglehold, they essentially obliterate any local capitalist competition. For one of the undeniable realities of globalisation is that there is no shelter provided either by the state or a regulated market. There is no shelter for competing brands either in the global market place of goods and ideas. For instance, McDonalds has recently decided to close some outlets. Mosbacher also details the problems of Marks & Spencer and other brands which can rapidly lose market share for reasons unrelated to protest. However, the unregulated free market is not without social costs which are troubling to many conservatives who believe in social order and stability. Mosbacher ignores this and justifiably concentrates on the contradictions and hypocrisy of opponents - many campaigns have been funded directly or otherwise by some brands against others and by corporate interests. He also emphasises the humble origins of many leading brands.

Globalisation does not always have retrograde results. It can increase wealth but it also tends to increase inequalities and damage internal, rather than international, markets, undermining the ability of smaller companies and brands to survive. For instance, some brands have lowered the real price of mass-produced, high-priced goods - the ubiquitous PC, for example - and have therefore achieved a perhaps unintended egalitarian and 'progressive' outcome to which Left-wingers respond uncertainly. Needless to say, protestors are not calling for the restoration of the typewriter!

They are, however, opposing monopolies and multinationals which undermine national governments. It is in this context that this partisan contribution is part of an important debate which hopefully will be broadened in the pages of RN.

Roger Jolly is the pen-name of a member of the Labour Party

Editor's Note: For a wider discussion of branding, see the article by Hadrian Wise on page 10 of this issue. *Marketing the Revolution* may be purchased from the Social Affairs Unit, 314-322 Regent Street, London W1B 3BB at £9.95 plus £1p&cp.

Books continued overleaf

Books

Continued



H. Jones VC: The Life and Death of an Unusual Hero

John Wilsey, Hutchinson, London, 2002, 335pps, £18.99

Reviewed by A V Galloni

More than 20 years on, Colonel H Jones VC (H stands for Herbert, the name he never used) remains the most controversial and famous hero of the Falklands War. A combative man, as this book skilfully points out, both in peacetime and in the muddy fields of the Falklands, his role – and death – proved a decisive turning point on the path to victory.

A wealthy former Etonian (he was Eton's 37th VC winner) from Devon,

Jones was a man of many interests, including poetry and motor-racing. But, above all, he was a loyal soldier who gave his life for Queen and Country. His behaviour and attitudes before and during the war, though, were not exactly conventional. As the author – a former general who served with Jones – highlights, Jones took a long time to develop, from a bellicose, somewhat arrogant manner, the brave and proud stance he held in 1982 leading 2 Para. During the war he also caused a sensation when, on 26 May – the day before the Goose Green battle – the BBC World Service tipped off the Argentines with the announcement of the forthcoming attack and its exact location. Jones almost leapt to his feet and threatened that he was going to sue the BBC for 'manslaughter' when he got back home. Fate didn't let him serve the country in this way.

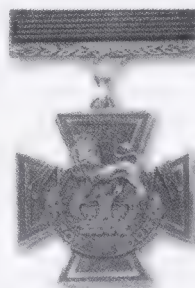
The detailed and vivid description of Goose Green and its battlefield are one of the best features of this biography. With a good balance between military fact and personal analysis, Wilsey imaginatively takes the reader after Jones's solo charge against the enemy trench which was trapping his men. Indeed, as troop com-

manders should be, the Colonel wasn't safely hidden behind safe lines sipping drinks (as the Argentines did) but fighting with them, always in the front line.

His death, famously reported in Army jargon with the words "Sunray is down", proved to be the battle's turning point. The galvanised Paras went on attacking and counter-attacking and, although outnumbered and fighting against an entrenched enemy, won what is now seen as the decisive battle of the war. This one man's example affected the outcome of a war, and the lives of thousands of people.

Colonel Jones might have been both impetuous and self-sacrificing but, as Alan Judd said when reviewing this book for the *Sunday Telegraph*: "in soldiers, it is the absence of such qualities rather than their presence that we should criticise". Engaging in revisionism about Jones's character or tactics is utterly pointless. John Wilsey, with this inspired book, pays the necessary tribute to a brave man of action, a cerebral soldier whose energy won a war and set us all an inspiring example. ○

A V Galloni is a freelance writer, and writes from Turin



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Nasty party for John

It seems that (nominally) Conservative MP John Bercow is on a losing streak when it comes to social functions. Not content with being shouted at and roughed up at the Conservative Way Forward Group, he recently attended a function organised by the gay rights group Stonewall. Apparently, the one-time Tory spokesman on just about everything was totally ignored by Stonewall's Chairman David Isaacs – although it may be that Isaacs just didn't notice him. Or perhaps Isaacs has heard all about our hero's Monday Club Repatriation Committee and Federation of Conservative Students past, and didn't care much for this rabid-Rightist-turned-New-Labour-clone? Poor old John – did he really enter politics for this? Has the Bercow political machine hit a stone wall? Or has this 1986 Ford Sierra just run out of petrol?

Twang-watch

The *Mail's* 'Peterborough' column reported on 8 April that broadcasters were running a 'plumwatch' campaign – ie, monitoring and sniggering at the polished Queen's English of our leading servicemen in Iraq. Apparently, a Major General won an award for saying "farr parr" (fire power). But we wonder if the army ever has time to make fun of the broadcasters? All those twangy, self-righteous, hysterical, estuarised, nasal, 'meeja' voices may even get a laugh or two in the officers' mess!

Jugged Hari

The *Independent* newspaper can be justly proud of its fresh-faced new columnist, Johann Hari, recently shortlisted as Young Journalist of the Year. There can be no doubt that his special talents are uniquely suited to the *Independent*. But it was recently revealed that many of Johann's more moving 'on the spot' reports were not written 'on the spot' at all. His powerful description, for instance, of the death of an Italian anti-globalisation protestor appears to have been drafted in a taxi heading away from the scene, before the incident had actually occurred – while his description of what it was like to take ecstasy relied on a friend's testimony. While we should applaud such a desire to preserve journalistic distance, perhaps our Jo might have stood more of a chance in the Young Novelist category.

Ethnic ambulance-chasing

Solicitor Imran Khan's terrier-like determination to unearth 'racism' – sometimes in places where it does not exist – is marvellous to behold. As a specialist in immigration law, his method has been to insinuate that racist motives lie behind every government decision to refuse entry to immigrants or to expel 'asylum-seekers' – coincidentally resulting in lengthy and very expensive (often taxpayer-funded) court cases. What a blessing that at least some of those concerned with these cases can earn a great deal of money! Then he was solicitor to the unhappy family of Stephen Lawrence, during their long campaign to find and convict the killers of their son. Although no-one was ever convicted, Imran did succeed in his strategy to ascribe racist motives to the defendants (one of whom later ran an obviously 'racist' illegal immigration racket) and then the Metropolitan Police, who were of course, traduced in the ludicrous *Macpherson Report*.

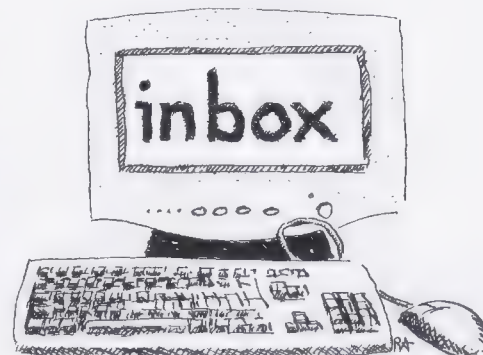
Not content with further souring race relations across the capital, he has recently written to all members of the Law Society to ask them for any experiences they may have had of what he calls the "unusually harsh and differential treatment of ethnic minority solicitors" and the "emerging pattern of discrimination" within the Society. With his new friend, Kamlesh Bahl (hailed three years ago as the Law Society's first ethnic minority female President, only to be fired for treating her staff as though they were serfs), Imran asks 'victims' to contact him to find ways to tackle the 'problem'. No doubt his special skills as an advocate will be called into play in many future legal actions. How pleasant it is to see such disinterested commitment to justice! We can all look forward to hearing a *lot* more about 'racism' in the professions.

A strange angle

One wonders what Martin Salter, the touchingly unselfconscious Labour MP for Reading West and government adviser on angling, makes of the recent scientific study which found that, in fact, fish can feel pain? Martin is a self-described "fishing nut", even interrupting his wedding reception to stick a hook into a fish's face (he ran back into the venue brandishing a chub, shouting "the marriage is now consummated!"). Yet curiously he is also a fanatical opponent of fox-hunting, saying in a recent interview in a fishing magazine that his biggest dislikes are "bigots, closed minds and fox-hunters". As the fishing magazine's interviewer remarked sagely "Enough said"! Readers of a strong constitution may care to click on: www.anglersnet.co.uk/authors/fred19.htm to find out more. The caption of the first photograph is a minor gem: "The face says it all".

Gable's end

Searchlight magazine is a weird and wonderful blend of the vitriolic and angst-ridden, but some of the vitriol now appears to be draining away. Although we are still treated to occasional school magazine-style cartoons and less-than-Olympian headlines like "fascist rats return to their own filth", under the editorship of Nick Lowles it is swiftly moving away from the subtle Stalinism of former editor Gerry Gable. Gerry's colourful CV, abrasive personality and hyperbolic editorializing are known to cause almost physical pain to the more refined and intellectual (if no less censorious) Lowles. This is probably a good thing – although personally we shall miss Gerry's engaging obituaries of British communists of the 1930s, many of whom were comrades of his, which invariably end with delightful salutations to the departed shades like "La lotta continua, Fred", or "Ne pasaran, Alf Scroggins". Perhaps some public-spirited citizen might care to augment the gaiety of the nation by publishing a collection of these unjustly overlooked classics.



All gossip gratefully received.

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PAX AMERICANA?

As I write the war in Iraq seems all over bar the shooting of a few dichards. As wars go this one has been extremely simple, as anticipated. This does not make it right. Stealing pocket-money from a child would be simple, but would that make it right?

The original *casus belli* was the purported danger to us emanating from Iraq's supposed weapons of mass destruction. So far, no such weapons have been found. Furthermore, even if a research facility or some obsolete or primitive material left over from before the last war is eventually found, the fact that no WMDs were used during the conflict proves that no functioning WMDs were available. Either the 'intelligence reports' which Bush and Poodle cited were not quite so intelligent after all, or it was all lies to justify a war they were determined on at all costs.

The true reasons for this conflict have been elaborated at length elsewhere so I shall simply point out that after Baghdad was captured whilst the US army was not prepared to send a single soldier to stop the looters at hospitals or even at the museum holding priceless exhibits from the dawn of civilisation, the one place they did surround and protect was the Ministry of Oil.

Winning the peace will be a lot harder than defeating a poorly-equipped, unmotivated, rag-tag army. Now that there is nothing left to loot, thoughts are turning to who will lead Iraq post-Saddam.

Remember how, after Tito, the peoples of Yugoslavia split apart through bloody conflict? While history never repeats itself exactly there are certain parallels. Iraq is an artificial country holding a very disparate population – Sunnis, Shias, Kurds and assorted others, all hating not only each other but different factions within their own populations. It is also likely that the south will turn to Islamic fundamentalism, just as the north of Pakistan has done since the US attacked Afghanistan. Bush is the best recruiting sergeant bin Laden could wish for.

Where does the US go from here? The popular view is that the conquest of Iraq will be the spring-board for further military adventures in the region in order for the US to dominate the Middle East and bring to heel countries such as Iran and Syria. Don't believe a word of it. Despite the ludicrous sabre-rattling from Bush criticising those countries that didn't co-operate with his precious war there is no stomach in Washington – particularly on Capitol Hill – for any further wars. The US will need to retain troops in Iraq to prevent it disintegrating too embarrassingly quickly (and to control its oil), which will make them an increasingly unpopular army of occupation. The end result could well be that the US soldiers will end up the targets of terrorist attacks as the region becomes yet further embittered towards the West. Another triumph for Dubya!



By
*John
Bull*

"How few men are strong enough to stand against the prevailing currents of opinion ... Be prepared to stand up faithfully for Right and Truth, however the wind may blow".
Winston Churchill

REVEALING THE TRUTH

It is to the lasting shame of both Conservative and Labour parties that they have consistently sought to appease the IRA, never willing to really take them on, but rather negotiating with them, seeking to come to a shabby compromise, and thereby effectively rewarding terrorism.

If there had never been an IRA, there would never been any 'Troubles'. Mrs Thatcher's Anglo-Irish Agreement, Major's Downing Street Declaration and Blair's Belfast Agreement were all designed to bring an end to the violence, not by destroying the IRA, but by offering them changes to the way Ulster was governed – not, admittedly offering them the union with Éire which is their ultimate aim, but what could effectively be seen as a stepping stone towards this.

We can see therefore that while Blair is happy to yap around denouncing terrorism and promising forceful action to stamp it out when he can safely rely on master Bush to carry this through, when left to his own devices he proffers gifts at the feet of the IRA. Consider his speech in Belfast last October. This was an attempt to sound tough which met with contempt from the IRA. It was revealing however in that, talking of the IRA and the threat of violence, he stated that "it no longer pushes the British government forward" and "it won't work anymore". Effectively therefore he admitted that it *had* worked and *had* pushed the government to making concessions. Furthermore, his claim that "That threat, no matter how damped down, is no longer reinforcing the political" has been shown to be false by the recent attempted deal to get the IRA to declare its war over. The government had offered further troop reduction, an amnesty for on-the-run terrorists and a pledge to devolve powers over policing and justice to Stormont, where Republicans have, of course, been guaranteed seats and powers. Even all that wasn't enough and the IRA are clearly holding out for more. Blair's *ne plus ultra* turns out to have been *semper idem*. What a surprise!

Another fallacy in Blair's speech was his claim that "The British couldn't eliminate the IRA militarily". The truth of course is that the military have constantly had to operate with their hands tied.

Consider the ridiculous report by Sir John Stevens into the way the security forces ran their undercover agents. Any sane person would accept that for an agent to retain the confidence of the group he is infiltrating he must be allowed to take a full part in their activities. In terms of terrorist groups, if every operation he has knowledge of fails, and he never takes part in an operation, he will pretty soon be rumbled. For Sir John to claim that "Fighting terrorism must be done within the law", and to object to informers taking part in murders effectively means that informers – one of the key weapons against terrorists – will no longer be available. This is to absurdly hamper the security forces. Terrorists have declared war against Britain, they call themselves soldiers in an 'army' – so surely we must treat them as such? As enemy soldiers of this country should we not target and kill them? That is what we did in Iraq. Indeed over there we didn't only target Iraqi soldiers, but senior members of the Baath party. So why not treat the IRA the same way? If somebody commits a crime they must be

treated according to the criminal justice system. But if someone declares that they are at war with us we must take them at their word and respond in kind and be at war with them – and fight them accordingly. Surely that is logical? By not engaging in a genuine war we handicapped ourselves – and only the IRA benefited.

What is even more ironic about the brouhaha surrounding Sir John Steven's report is that while he claims the army allowed loyalists to kill IRA members (how appalling!) in fact the army *did* prevent some of our Republican enemies from being killed by the loyalists, including none other than Gerry Adams, now so busily demonstrating his gratitude.

FASHION VICTIMS

Not so very long ago, if you needed to know a telephone number you just called BT and they gave it to you – for free. Simple and effective. It couldn't last. It didn't fit in with the fashion for privatisation, competition ... and charging. So now there is a plethora of companies competing to *sell* you the number you need. Instead of a three-digit enquiry number you have to remember various six-digit numbers, have to decide which enquiry number to call, and have to pay. And then you can make your phone call and pay for that. Who benefits from all this? A few shareholders and a few company directors, while everyone else ends up paying more.

MORE ASYLUM MADNESS

When it comes to foisting immigration onto an unwilling people there are, it seems, no depths to which this government will not sink. 85% of the public believe that asylum is out of control, 80% believe Britain is a 'soft touch' and over three-quarters do not believe that the government has been 'open and honest about the scale of immigration to Britain'; they are right on all counts. A leaked document from the Home Office published in the *Times* recently "revealed that the government's failure over asylum and immigration is far more serious than ministers have admitted". The HO document reveals, *inter alia*, that Britain's asylum intake is "high compared with reductions in other EU countries", that the cost of providing asylum seekers with food and housing is "high and rising" and that removals of those refused asylum are "still well short of target".

As far back as 1995 this magazine warned of Algerian terrorists coming here under our asylum free-for-all. We were right then and we remain right now. Algerian Islamic terrorists are believed to be behind the ricin poison found in a London flat in January, and the *Guardian* reports that "MI5 and the police have come to regard the Algerian terrorists as the 'greatest al-Qaida-related threat in Europe, the most potent threat after al-Qaida itself'". Nowadays what was once 'racist' is simply obvious commonsense. Guess who recently said, speaking of Algerian asylum-seekers, "People who are really terrorists are being allowed in and they are not going to stop killing when they get to this country". It was Mohammad Sakkoum, of the Algerian Refugee Council, speaking to the *Times*.

The government agrees that the number of asylum-seekers coming here is too high, and the Office for National Statistics has had to revise its forecasts

of Britain's future population. Over the next 25 years it is now admitted that 750,000 asylum-seekers will be *allowed* to remain. Given that those allowed to stay here are but a fraction of those arriving and not leaving, this grossly underestimates the impact of immigration to our population. Not only that, but the numbers of those arriving are apparently being seriously underestimated. Following the concern over Algerian terrorists, the police are desperately trying to track down Algerian asylum-seekers who have gone to ground, but while official figures claim that over the last decade around 10,000 arrived here the *Times* states that "unofficial estimates by community leaders put the real number closer to 40,000". The logic of this is that even the record number of 110,700 asylum-seekers who officially came to Britain last year was but a quarter of the true figure. If this is the case, or anything like it, the position is truly appalling.

The government response to the problem has been a mixture of PR stunts (such as the dramatic deportation of a few Afghans just days before the local elections), and the grotesque decision to brainwash our children to induce meek acquiescence. The *Sunday Times* has revealed that the government is planning a new 'anti-racist' curriculum for schools called 'Respect for All', which "is aimed at preventing children from developing racist views and encouraging them to develop a pride in multicultural Britain". We are told that "Respect for All offers dozens of plans for anti-racist lessons across every curriculum subject", and that "even subjects such as maths, science and physical education will be used to undermine thoughts of racism". Rather than improve educational standards, the government is undertaking an Orwellian mind-control project which is surely tantamount to child abuse. Children who leave school knowing nothing of Nelson, Wellington or Drake, let alone Martin Luther, will be taught about Martin Luther King.

Children will be asked to imagine they are a black footballer and consider how he might deal with racist taunts. On £30,000 or so a week I would have thought rather well actually; how about imagining instead that they are the chronically-ill octogenarian in Stoke, who has been removed by the local health authority from the GP surgery she has used all her life so the doctor could treat asylum-seekers instead? ○

"Children will be asked to imagine they are a black footballer and consider how he might deal with racist taunts. On £30,000 or so a week I would have thought rather well actually..."

John Bull can be contacted at
johnbull@englandmail.com

PRAG

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Sir,
Why are we sacrificing the lives of our servicemen trying to liberate someone else's nation? People are not 'the same the world over' - and the West's concern for 'human rights' is viewed with a mixture of amusement and contempt by some societies. The fact that Iraqi troops fired on coalition forces under the cover of a white flag is indication that they do not share the same delicate sensibilities of those who value the Geneva Convention.

So where from here? Well, our government will commit millions of pounds of aid we can ill afford to a sullen and ungrateful nation who will take that aid and then habitually take pot shots at our troops. Then we will have hordes of asylum seekers who will, while ensconced in this country on welfare, criticise the West venomously as being out of sync with their world view, religion etc, while benefiting from that freedom and wealth fought for by our troops and paid for by me and mine in taxes respectively!

**C R Henderson,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne**

Sir,
Roger Kershaw made a credible attempt to analyse the current debate on Islam in the UK (RN 39). He quoted many sources including R4's *Thought for the Day*, Rowan Williams, Bishop Richard Harris, Roger Scruton and the "endearing academic" Mona Siddique. I have listened carefully to all of these speakers over the years and found that not one can bring themselves to explain why there can never be integration of Islam into British society. I assume that they all must be familiar with the *Koran*, the *Tawhid* and *Sharia* law? A true believer in Islam is committed to the teachings of the *Koran*; this is not negotiable.

British society with its freedoms and liberal values is anathema to Islam; it is the 'work of the devil'. All those outside of the faith are unclean and in many cases blasphemers (simply to suggest that Jesus Christ is the Son of God is a blasphemy, as is Darwinism). A Muslim must marry within

*"It is by benefit of letters that
absent friends are, in a manner,
brought together."*

— Seneca



Write to: The Editor, Right NOW!
Box 361, 78 Marylebone High Street, London, W1U 5AP.
or e-mail: rightnow@compuserve.com
The editor regrets that he cannot answer all correspondence

the faith or his partner must convert to Islam. For these and many other reasons, it is a distortion of the facts when the 'experts' quoted by Roger Kershaw continue to call for integration, mutual understanding and an end to 'Islamophobia' without explaining why the pillars of Islam ensure that integration or even a commitment from British Muslims to British society is impossible.

**Paul Rhodes,
London SW19**

Sir,
The present stand-off between the government and the firemen's union is long overdue. It has been clear enough for decades that the fire service, along with some other public services, was organised as much to protect members' 'perks' as it was to serve the interests of the general public. It goes without saying that there are many admirably dedicated people working in these services, but anyone seeking to modernise the working arrangements and facilities is invariably accused of 'putting lives in danger' - as if they would, needing the 999 services like everyone else.

Over 20 years ago, I took a leading part in the reorganisation of ambulance services in a northern part of the UK. The aim was to minimise response times for 999 calls, improve paramedic skills and facilities, and bring ambulance stations, vehicles and staffing levels more in line with current requirements. In that area at that time, only one in five ambulance journeys was in response to 999 calls, most staff had little recent experience

of emergencies, ambulance stations were no longer situated in the most advantageous locations and some could be closed altogether without prejudicing the service.

The changes improved the speed and competence of emergency responses, and offered very substantial savings in capital and running costs. Needless to say, all our work was accompanied by alarmist trade union claims that lives were being put at risk and that the 'bureaucrats' were attacking the 'mercy men'.

We ought to be thinking about one control centre serving police, fire and ambulance services instead of three separate ones. Do you ever get the feeling the world isn't ready for you yet?

**F K Johnson,
Louth, Lincolnshire**

Sir,
My friendly local GP, Dr Franklystoned, being composed entirely of spirit(s), is assured of immortality. He is now determined to provide the same endless future for me. He promises that the necessary Immortality Pill will be spirited up for me at the precise moment it is needed. It will, of course, be rather expensive. It requires not only the unique ancestry and skills of the learned doctor himself, but also the whole of the GDP. But as he says, I cannot be denied free treatment at the point of service.

The human rights lawyers, particularly the ladies of the Left who abound here, are queuing up to ensure that I get my rights to the ultimate right. Rightly they say, nobody can be denied treatment because of

the cost. And they look forward to endless service for me.

**'Patient confidentiality
preserved'
(name and address supplied)**

Sir,
I read with interest the article by Dr Frank Ellis in RN 39. However, he spoils his case with a completely unjustified attack upon the *Daily Telegraph* (I have no personal axe to grind as I am neither an employee nor shareholder). The article largely focuses on one article by Andrew Gimson that appeared in November. The *Telegraph* is a pluralistic paper and it does publish views from time to time with which it knows its readers will disagree. Some RN readers may recall that Lord Parekh was given space to promote his *Report*, but William Hague was given rebuttal space, and most readers condemned the *Report* on the letters page. Journalist Matt Ridley had an article published in 2000 entitled 'For the good of the country, let us have more immigrants'. This also provoked a vigorous response. Other columnists have taken a more robust view on immigration - eg, Tom Utley's column 'Sir William Macpherson has blood on his hands'. The 'Peter Simple' column has on many occasions attacked multiculturalism as well as the *Macpherson Report*.

Editorially, the *Telegraph* is sound on immigration. It has highlighted the failure to deport many 'asylum seekers', and it condemned the *Macpherson Report* long before William Hague spoke against it. In an editorial it said of the *Macpherson Report* "no more disgracefully unfair document has ever been produced by a judge in modern British history". The *Telegraph* has also championed the fight against asylum accommodation centres being dumped in small villages such as Over Stowey in the Quantocks (7 June, 2000).

RN contributors should not be alienating the *Telegraph* with perverse and inaccurate attacks upon its opinions on major issues, such as immigration, which are basically the same as ours.

**Allan Robertson,
London SE8**

CDA offers 'alternative Tory manifesto'

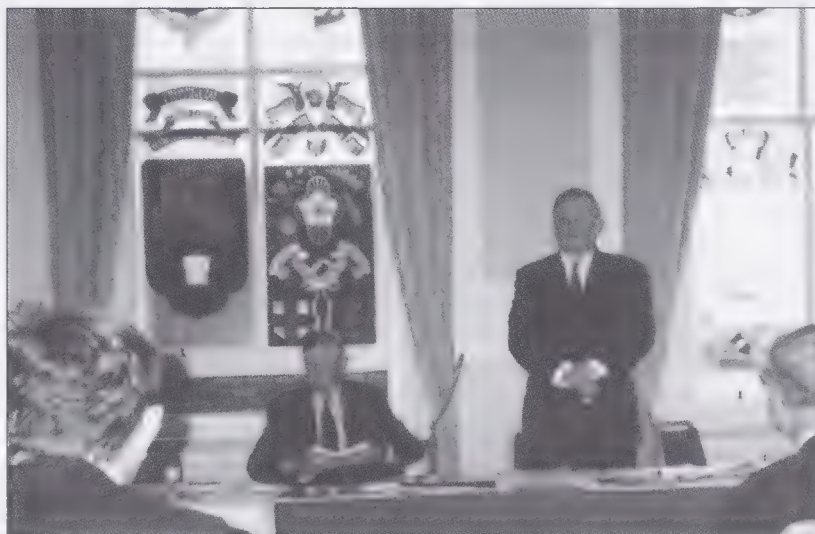
Spring conference attracts top speakers and intense debate

The Conservative Democratic Alliance's Spring Conference, held on 22 March at a venue in St James's Street, London, succeeded in laying down what can only be described as an alternative Tory manifesto.

Chaired by Mike Smith, the conference debated motions on the EU, immigration, the countryside, the BBC, foreign policy, constitutional reform, Ulster, education and multiculturalism. In a clear break with the Conservative Party leadership, the CDA voted unanimously for British withdrawal from the EU – a move which would at once restore national independence, and free business, industry, fisheries and agriculture from the mad *diktat* of Brussels.

Speakers included not only well-known Tory figures such as the Monday Club's Sam Swerling and John Gouriet of the Constitutional Challenge movement, but UK Freedom Party leader, Adrian Davies. Mr Davies explained how in the West Midlands, the Freedom Party has provided the ranks of disillusioned Conservative voters with a strong platform on asylum, law and order, and real campaigns to expose the laziness and maladministration at the heart of local government in this country. To great applause, Mr Davies (whose party has just won its first council seat) asked whether the present Conservative Party could indeed be called "Conservative".

Right Now! editor, Derek Turner, provided an interlude to the main debate with a talk on the history of the magazine – now in its tenth anniversary year. Finally, the conference observed a minute's



Mike Smith of the CDA addresses the meeting

silence for the British servicemen killed in battle during the opening stages of the Iraqi war.

It is clear now that the CDA has emerged as the principal pressure group of the Tory Right – a force uniting both active and disillusioned Conservatives, and individuals and parties on the Eurosceptical, patriotic Right. As Mike Smith commented: "In some senses, we are the Tory Party in exile. And we now have a manifesto to which a large number of people can rally".

The CDA is planning further events for 2003, including a summer social event and dinner with a key guest speaker. ○

British Weights and Measures Association

AGM and conference, Victory Services Club, 63-79 Seymour Street, London W1. 24 May 2003. AGM members only, but conference open to public, admission: £5.00. Speakers include Derek Turner. Contact: BWMA on (0131) 556 6080

The Society of King Charles the Martyr

Annual Restorationtide Festival at St Mary-le-Strand, London at 11am, Saturday, 31 May 2003. Mass (1662) is followed by the AGM and lunch for those who wish. This is open to non-members, including the AGM. Contact: Robin Davies, 22 Tynning Road, Winsley, Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, BA15 2JJ.

Sung Eucharist (Prayer Book Rite) to celebrate the King's Nativity at St Andrew's by the Wardrobe, Queen Victoria Street, City of London at 6pm, Wednesday, 19 November 2003, by kind permission of the Rector, the Revd Dr Alan Griffin (nearest tubes: Blackfriars and St Paul's). Contact: Robin Davies, as above.

Bruges Group

Monthly meetings, British Academy, 10 Carlton House Terrace, London, SW1, 6:30pm - 8:00pm. Refreshments 8:00pm - 9:30pm

14 May 2003: Speakers: Frederick Forsyth and Martin Howe QC.

Dates for your Diary

11 June 2003: Speaker: Professor Minford.

8 July 2003: Speaker: TBA. Website: www.brugesgroup.com/events/index.live?article=150

Contact: Robert Oulds, Director, Bruges Group, 216 Linen Hall, 162-168 Regent Street, London, W1B 5TB.

Tel: 020 7287 4414. Fax: 020 7287 5522

Society for Individual Freedom

21 May 2003, 7pm, Westminster Arms, 9 Storey's Gate, London SW1 (upstairs room). Speaker: Lindsay Jenkins, author of *Britain Held Hostage*, *The Coming Euro-Dictatorship* (1998) and *The Last Days of Britain, The Final Betrayal* (2001)

No charge but 'retiring collection'. Contact: Mike Plumbe, SIF Chairman. Tel: 01424 713737

The Royal Stuart Society

Annual White Rose Lecture in the Parish Hall, 114 Mount Street, London, W1 at 6:30pm for 7pm, Thursday, 16 October 2003. Mr David Beattie, CMG will lecture on 'The House of Liechtenstein'. The lecture is open to the public and admission is free. Contact: The Principal Secretary, The Royal Stuart Society, P.O. Box 13609, London, W4 4GU.

Persons who wish to have their organisation's events listed here should send details to:

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or fax:
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Those wishing to attend meetings are advised to confirm arrangements with the organisers beforehand.

Leave it to Hollywood to do to the *Iliad* what Bomber Command did to Dresden. I only thank God that Homer's blind, otherwise the poor fellow would have a breakdown in his grave. I am talking about the latest blockbuster doing the rounds on American television, produced by one Adam Shapiro – a gentleman who I am certain knows the difference between Rimbaud and Rambo – and the screenplay by Ms Ronni Kern, a woman so obviously disturbed, she decided to improve the script with a bit of new-age guruism and holistic ambience. *Helen of Troy* lasts four painful hours, with splendid costumes and a soundtrack of Trojan electro-clash. Computer-enhanced fleets and phalanxes fill the screen with gore, but it's the dialogue that makes one wish Ronni Kern had been born a Spartan, and despatched from Mount Taygetus at a very early age.

Helen is presented as the sister of Clytemnestra, whose mother committed suicide after being raped by Zeus. When Helen finds out she sorta has a nervous breakdown and takes off with Theseus to Athens. (The Minotaur, thank God, does not get involved in a threesome.) There she meets Paris and hanky-panky begins. When, against her will, she's married off to King Menelaus, Agammemnon keeps his eye on her, sort of like Prince Charles and Fergie. (This broad is trouble). After she runs off with Paris, Iphigenia is duly sacrificed and off go the Greeks to revenge their cuckolded buddy.

Achilles is portrayed as a bald, camp, steroid-juiced musclebound queen, and he kills Hector by stealth. Then, after the Greeks get inside the walls with the Horse, Agammemnon rapes Helen in front of Menelaus in order to teach her a lesson. (Don't f--- with us Greeks, or something like that). Menelaus moans softly. Ronni Kern's sexual proclivities become rather obvious as the blockbuster mini series unfolds.

My only worry is that people will prefer this to the original. Our culture is so debased, I wouldn't be at all surprised if they took this seriously. "Why those filthy Greeks..." Poor Helen. I grew up feeling sorry for her, until I began reading between the lines. Let's face it, Paris was a s--- of the premier order, but so was my favourite character in literature, Don Giovanni.

Homer and Virgil painted Helen as a wanton, fickle princess, a Greek Diana Spencer; Shakespeare cast her as a silly girl in *Troilus and Cressida*, but Euripides came to her rescue by dividing her in two – a ghost that went to Troy, the real McCoy that went to Egypt.

Shapiro and Kern show her naked time and again, by far the most intellectual part of the mini-series, and a hell of a looker Ms Sienna Guillory sure is. I'd cer-



Taki

tainly fight the poofter who plays Menelaus for her, and I'd take on Achilles, Agammemnon, Hector, the lot. If the real Helen looked anything like Sienna, the war was definitely justified. Keeping in mind that back in those good old days we Greeks had not as yet discovered electrolysis, I ain't so sure.

What I am certain about is that neither Agammemnon nor Achilles spoke like oiks (most of the actors are Brits) and if they did, Greece would have a large pub on top of the Acropolis, instead of the Parthenon. Be that as it may, make sure you give *Helen of Troy* a miss when it comes to England.

And as I'm writing about history of sorts, here is a real lesson. The central aim of the military operation was to smash the terrorist connection but also refashion the Middle East by installing a pro-Western government.

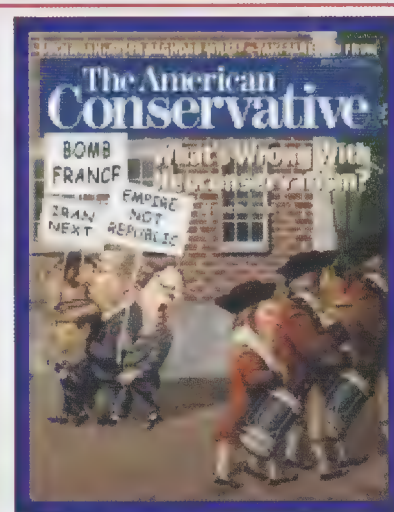
Iraq, right? Actually Israel in 1982, and its incursion into Lebanon.

The parallels are striking. In Lebanon the French had selected the Christians as the rulers, creating resentment from the Shi'ites and the Druse. Israel's invasion of Lebanon had the elimination of terrorism in its borders as a goal. Sharon, as Begin's defence minister at the time, and others of his ilk, had made Lebanon a top priority. When a Palestinian terrorist shot Israel's ambassador to London in June 1982, the invasion was on. The fact that the gunman had nothing to do with the PLO was not even considered. The pretext was enough. Once the PLO's bases were smashed, Israel helped engineer a Christian ally's election, Bashir Gemayel, as president. Begin pushed Bashir to recognise Israel, which immediately led to his assassination. Within a week Sharon helped Christian militiamen enter two Palestinian camps where a massacre ensued.

So far so bad. But it gets worse. With violence exploding all round, the Israelis had no other choice but to stay. Their presence created more resentment and more violence. Shi'ite militias had great success in fueling popular resentment against the occupiers. It took Israel almost twenty years to pull out, the damage far outweighing anything good that came out of the invasion. Although it is unclear how long the Anglo-Americans plan to stay in Iraq, one thing is for sure. The longer they stay, the more resistance they will face. Patience with foreign liberators does not play well in the Middle East.

One good thing to emerge from Iraq's rubble is the lack of European unity. Thank God for France and Germany. Britain is America's only European ally, but not even Tony Baloney will be able to keep the British in Uncle Sam's camp if George W Bush does nothing about Israel's oppression of the Palestinians.

In America no one is allowed to say a word against Israel's brutal occupation. Anti-Semitism is immediately charged, as I have found out first hand. Tony Baloney has a unique opportunity to do something to help the Palestinians by insisting Bush lean on Sharon. After all, he's got something on Bush, which is the reasons we went to war in the first place. Bush said it was an extension of the war on terrorism. Then it was a war to remove weapons of mass destruction. Then it became a war to liberate the Iraqi people. Blair knows the real reasons, and unless Bush plays ball, he should spill the beans. But don't hold your breath. The day Blair levels with the British people, the fat cats in Brussels will stop stealing. Fat chance of that ever happening. ○



The American Conservative

A biweekly magazine edited by Pat Buchanan and Taki Theodoracopolous

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SOCIETAS

essays in
political and
cultural
criticism

SOCIETAS

essays in political and cultural criticism

Contemporary public debate has been impoverished by two competing trends. On the one hand increasing commercialisation of the visual media has meant that in-depth debate has given way to the ten-second soundbite. On the other hand the explosion of scholarship has led to such a degree of specialisation that academic discourse is no longer comprehensible to everyone else. As a result writing on politics and culture is often either superficial or incomprehensible and the concept of the 'public intellectual' has lost its currency.

This was not always so – especially in the field of politics. The high point of the English political pamphlet was the seventeenth century, when a number of small printer-publishers responded to the political ferment of the age with an outpouring of widely-accessible pamphlets and tracts.

In recent years the tradition of the political pamphlet has declined – with publishers (other than think-tanks) rejecting anything under 100,000 words as uneconomic. The result is that many a good idea has ended up drowning in a sea of verbosity. However the introduction of the digital press makes it possible to re-create a more exciting age of publishing. Imprint Academic is proud to announce *Societas: essays in political and cultural criticism* to fill the lacuna in public debate. The authors are all experts in their own field, either scholarly or professional, but the essays are aimed at a general audience and contain the minimum of academic paraphernalia. Each book should take no more than an evening to read.

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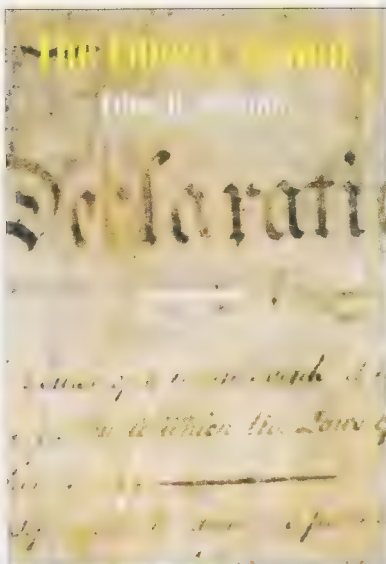
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Cover illustration:

'The Tryst', a painting by John Harris from his book, *The Rite of the Hidden Sun*



The Liberty Option

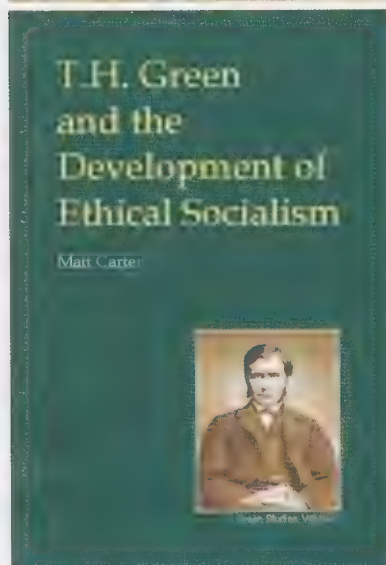
Tibor R. Machan

The Liberty Option advances the idea that for compelling moral and practical reasons it is the society organised on classical liberal principles that serves justice best, leads to prosperity and encourages the greatest measure of individual virtue. The book contrasts this Lockean ideal with the various statist alternatives, defends it against its communitarian critics and lays out some of its more significant policy implications.

Tibor Machan teaches ethics at Chapman University and is a research fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution. He has written a number of books on classical liberal theory, including *Classical Individualism* (Routledge, 1998).

SOCIETAS

104 pp., £8.95/\$14.95, 0907845 630, May 2003

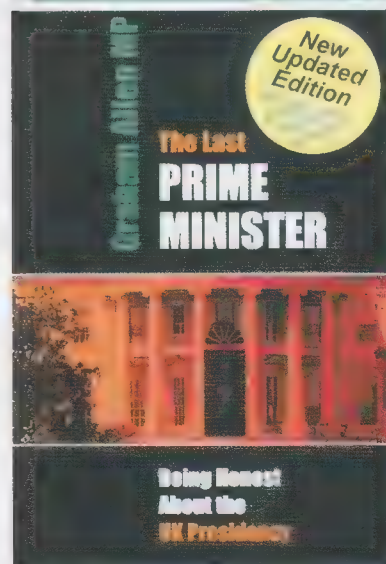


T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism

Matt Carter

In sharp contrast to the book above, Matt Carter, Assistant General Secretary of the Labour Party, agrees with Tawney that 'freedom for the pike is death for the minnow'. Blairism is often seen as a cobbled-together compromise between Thatcherism and social justice, which owes more to the focus group than principled thought, but this book uncovers the origins of New Labour philosophy in the late nineteenth-century tradition of 'ethical' socialism. According to Carter the materialism and statism of twentieth-century socialism was an unfortunate detour from idealist and New Liberal inspired concerns with the flowering of individual character.

234 pp., £25/\$40 (hbk.), 0907845 320, June 2003



The Last Prime Minister: Being Honest about the UK Presidency

Graham Allen MP

Echoing Gandhi's verdict on Western civilization, Graham Allen thinks the British constitution would be a very good idea. In *The Last Prime Minister* he showed the British people how they had acquired an executive presidency by stealth. It was the first-ever attempt to codify the Prime Minister's powers, many hidden in the mysteries of the royal prerogative. This timely new edition takes in new issues, including Parliament's constitutional impotence over Iraq.

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96 pages £8.95/\$14.95 0907845 41X, March 2003

**DEMOCRACY, FASCISM
AND THE
NEW WORLD ORDER**



IVO MOSLEY

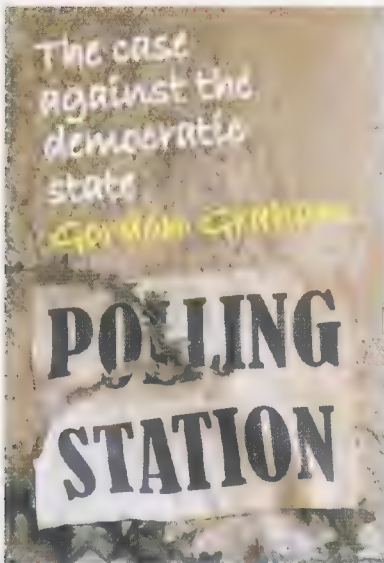
Democracy, Fascism and the New World Order

Ivo Mosley

Growing up as the grandson of Sir Oswald, the 1930s blackshirt leader, made Ivo Mosley consider fascism with a deep and acutely personal interest. Whereas conventional wisdom sets up democracy and fascism as opposites, to ancient political theorists democracy had an innate tendency to lead to extreme populist government, and provided unscrupulous demagogues with the ideal opportunity to seize power. In *Democracy and Fascism* Mosley argues that totalitarian regimes may well be the logical outcome of unfettered mass democracy.

SOCIETAS

96 pp., £8.95/\$14.95, 0907845 649, July 2003



The Case Against the Democratic State

Gordon Graham

The history of the last 200 years is a story of the relentless growth of the state. Indeed, we are now so accepting of the state's pre-eminence in all things that few think to question it. This essay contends that the gross imbalance of power in the modern state is in need of justification, and that democracy simply masks this need with the illusion of popular sovereignty. Although the argument is accessible to the general reader, it is written within the European tradition of political philosophy, from Plato to Rawls. The author is Regius Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Aberdeen.

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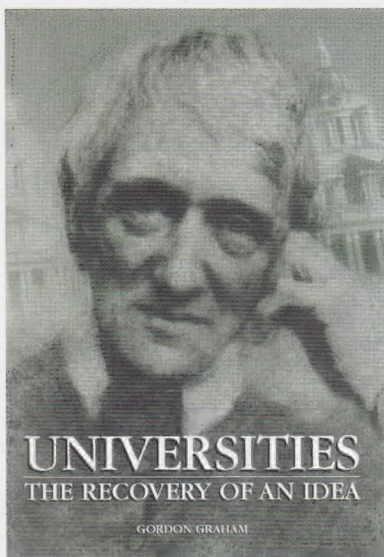
The Party's Over

Keith Sutherland

The UK political party started as a loose association of like-minded MPs. However, in recent years the tail has been wagging the dog – politicians now have no choice but to whip themselves into line behind a strong leader with the essential televisual charisma. This book outlines the reasons behind the changes in modern politics and questions the role of the party in the post-ideological age. If we are now all middle-class and share the liberal capitalist consensus, then what is the point of the political party? The book examines the US system of checks and balances but concludes that we would be better served by re-interpreting our own constitution more literally. When the Chancellor *really* was a minister of the Crown, every line of the Budget was meticulously scrutinised.

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Universities: The Recovery of an Idea

Gordon Graham

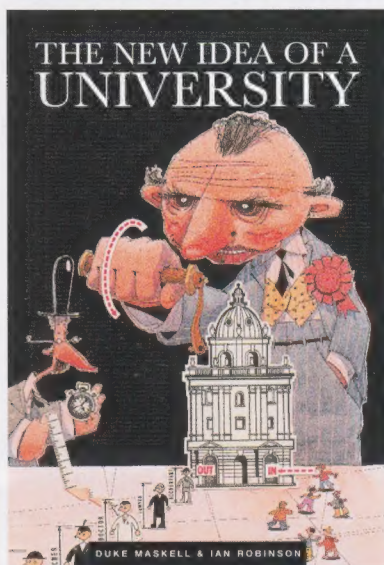
Research assessment exercises, teaching quality assessment, line management, student course evaluation, modularization, student fees — these are all names of innovations in modern British universities. How far do they constitute a significant departure from traditional academic concerns? Using some themes of Newman's classic *The Idea of a University* as a springboard, this book aims to address these questions.

*'Those who care about universities should thank Gordon Graham for doing what has needed doing so urgently'. **Philosophy***

*'Though densely and cogently argued, this book is extremely readable and deserves to be widely read'. **Philosophical Quarterly***

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The New Idea of a University

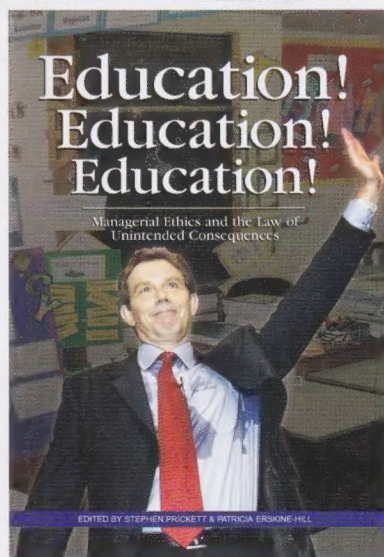
Duke Maskell and Ian Robinson

Should we get our idea of a university from politicians and bureaucrats or from J.H. Newman, Jane Austen and Socrates? *The New Idea of a University* is an entertaining and highly readable defence of the philosophy of liberal arts education and an attack on the sham that has been substituted for it. It is sure to scandalize all the friends of the present establishment and be cheered elsewhere.

*'A seminal text in the battle to save quality education'. **THES***
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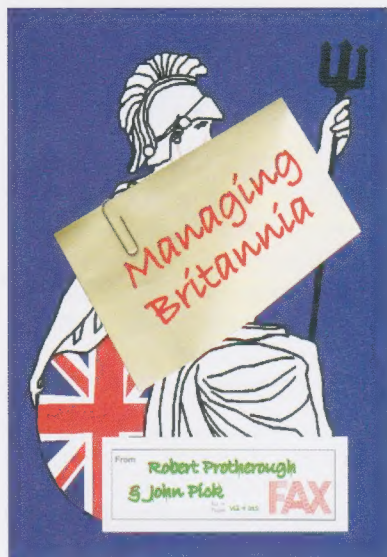
Managerial Ethics and Unintended Consequences

Edited by Stephen Prickett & Patricia Erskine-Hill

The essays in this book criticise the new positivism in education policy, whereby education is systematically reduced to those things that can be measured by so-called 'objective' tests. School curricula have been narrowed with an emphasis on measurable results in the 3 R's and the 'quality' of university departments is now assessed by managerial exercises based on commercial audit practice. Contributors include Libby Purves, Evan Harris, Rowan Williams, Roger Scruton, Robert Grant, Bruce Charlton and Anthony Smith.

*'This book is a call for action.' **Dom Antony Sutch, The Tablet***

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Managing Britannia

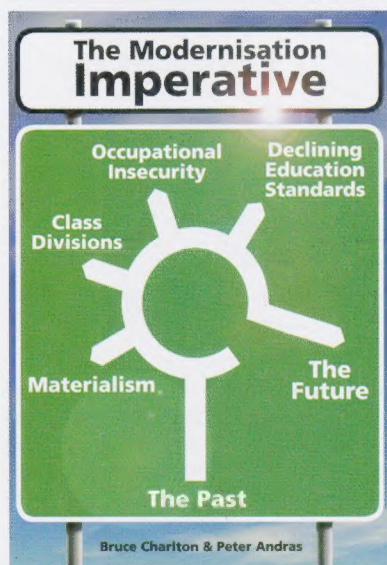
Robert Protherough and John Pick

For more than thirty years the solution to all Britain's problems has been Better Management. There are now more managers on the rail network than train drivers, yet the benefits of modern management of railways, schools, hospitals and universities are elusive. This is because 'management' does not exist—the academic study of 'management science' and the assumption that there are universal management skills are bogus. This book shows how modern management practices have all but destroyed us.

'A terrific new book . . . written in a straightforward, lucid fashion.'

Simon Hoggart, *The Guardian*

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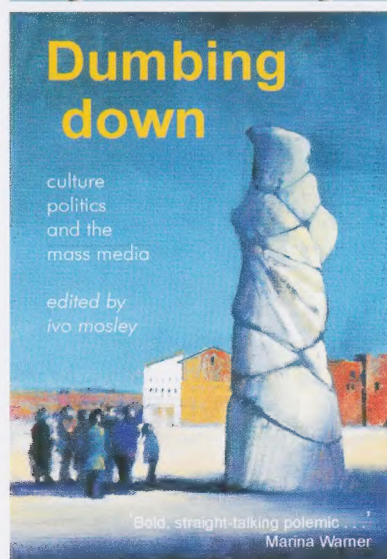
The Modernisation Imperative

Bruce Charlton & Peter Andras

Modernisation gets a bad press in the UK, and is blamed for increasing materialism, moral fragmentation, the dumbing-down of public life, declining educational standards, occupational insecurity and rampant managerialism. But modernisation is preferable to the likely alternative of lapsing back towards a 'medieval' world of static, hierarchical and coercive societies — the many and serious criticisms of modernisation should be seen as specific problems relating to a process that is broadly beneficial for most of the people, most of the time. This book explains the importance of modernisation to all societies and analyses anti-modernisation in the UK—especially such problems as class divisions, political short-termism and the culture of spin.

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Dumbing Down: Culture, Politics and the Mass Media

Ivo Mosley (ed.)

Never before in human history has so much cleverness been used to such stupid ends. The cleverness is in the creation and manipulation of markets, media and power; the stupid ends are in the destruction of community, responsibility, morality, art, religion and the natural world. This theme is developed by essayists include Tam Dalyell, Dominic Hobson, Philip Rieff, Robert Brustein, Roger Deakin, Adam Boulton, David Lee, Claire Fox, John Ziman and Helen Oppenheimer.

'If there is hope at all, it lies in the existence of books like this.'

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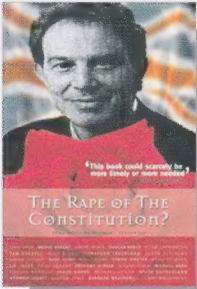
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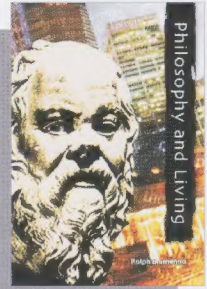
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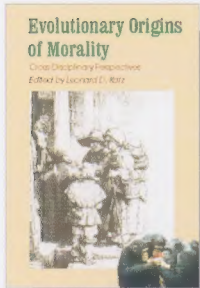
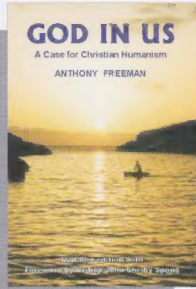


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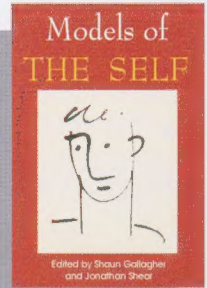


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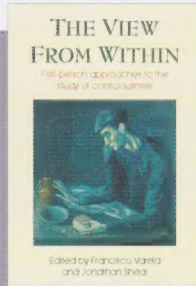


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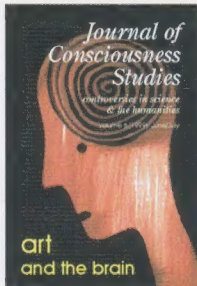


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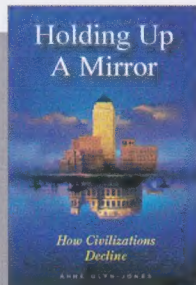


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